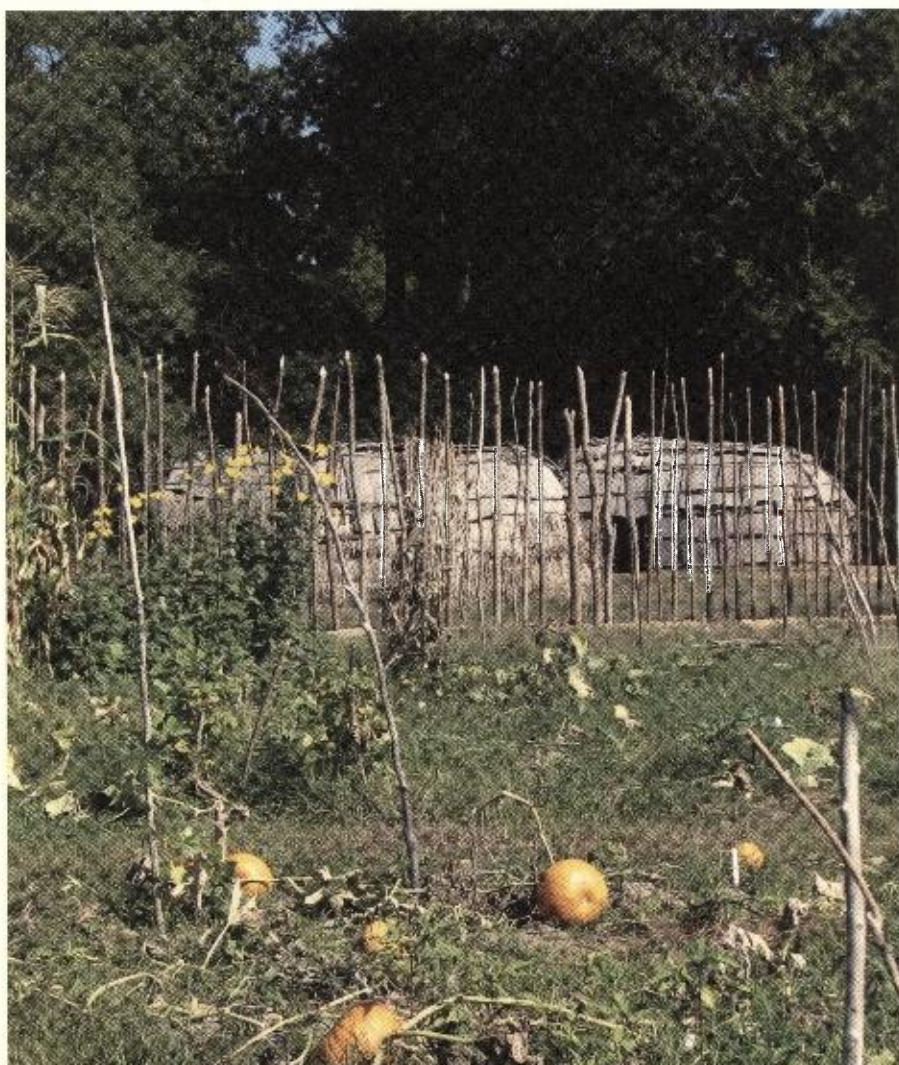


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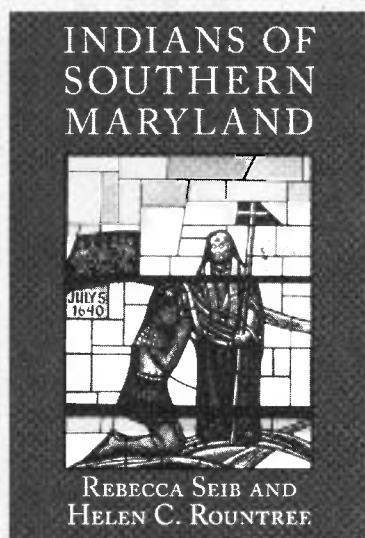
MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



Cover: Late-summer Garden, Indian Village, St. Leonard, Maryland

In 2007, the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum created this Indian Village in commemoration of John Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries four hundred years earlier. The park offers a glimpse into life as it might have been when the Virginia settler first visited the native people who lived along the Patuxent River. There are currently four longhouses on the site, with a palisade border of tall poles to protect stores of corn from raiders. The working garden produces vegetables that were staple foods of the native people. For additional information visit www.jefpat.org (Courtesy, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum.)

Friends of the Press of the Maryland Historical Society



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY continues its commitment to publish the finest new work in Maryland History. Next year, 2015, marks ten years since the Publications Committee, with the advice and support of the development staff, launched the Friends of the Press, an effort dedicated to raising money to be used solely for bringing new titles into print. The society is particularly grateful to H. Thomas Howell, past committee chair, for his unwavering support of our work and for his exemplary generosity. The committee is pleased to announce two new titles funded through the Friends of the Press.

Rebecca Seib and Helen C. Rountree's

forthcoming *Indians of Southern Maryland*, offers a highly readable account of the culture and history of Maryland's native people, from prehistory to the early twenty-first century. The authors, both cultural anthropologists with training in history, have written an objective, reliable source for the general public, modern Maryland Indians, schoolteachers, and scholars.

Appearing next spring, Milt Diggins's compelling story of slave catcher Thomas McCreary examines the physical and legal battles that followed the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Was seizing escaped slaves the legal capture of fugitives—or an act of kidnapping? Residing in Cecil County, midway between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and conducting his "business" in an area already inflamed by clashes like the violent Christiana riots, McCreary drew the ire of abolitionists. Frederick Douglass referred to him as "the notorious Elkton kidnapper."

These are the seventh and eighth Friends of the Press titles, continuing the mission first set forth in 1844. We invite you to become a supporter and help us fill in the unknown pages of Maryland history. If you would like to make a tax-deductible gift to the Friends of the Press, please direct your donation to Development, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. For additional information on MdHS publications, contact Patricia Dockman Anderson, Director of Publications and Library Services, 410-685-3750 x317 or panderson@mdhs.org.

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Historical Magazine

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CONTENTS

Book Excerpt: <i>Indians of Southern Maryland</i>	263
REBECCA SEIB and HELEN C. ROUNTREE	
“Convicted of a Scandalous Offence against the Government”: Political Culture and the English Civil War in Colonial Maryland	279
STEVEN CARL SMITH	
Maryland’s Presidential Election of 1860	307
CHARLES W. MITCHELL	
George W. Welzant and the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company	329
THOMAS L. HOLLOWAK	
Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany	351
The Case of the Catholic Know-Nothings, by Tracy Matthew Melton	
Book Reviews	372
Ridout, <i>Building the James Brice House, 1767–1774</i> , by Royanne Chipps Bailey	
Leepson, <i>What So Proudly We Hailed: Francis Scott Key, A Life</i> , by David McDonald	
Cooper, <i>We Have the War Upon Us: The Onset of the Civil War, November 1860–April 1861</i> , by Ben Wynne	
Clegg, <i>Troubled Ground: A Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South</i> , by Katherine E. Rohrer	
Skotnes, <i>A New Deal for All? Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore</i> , and <i>Sartain, Borders of Equality: The NAACP and the Baltimore Civil Rights Struggle</i> , 1914–1970, by Francesca Gamber	
Kurin, <i>The Smithsonian’s History of America in 101 Objects</i> , by Christopher Cumo	

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In Memoriam



William Voss Elder III, longtime friend and committee member of the Maryland Historical Society, died on April 17, 2014, at the age of eighty-two. Mr. Elder attended the Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and graduated from Princeton University. He later studied architectural history at the University of Pennsylvania. As second curator of the White House for First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy, he was instrumental in redecorating the president's home and revising the second edition of the official guide book. Mr. Elder left the White House in 1963 for the Baltimore Museum of Art, where he worked for thirty years as curator of decorative arts and authored catalogues showcasing the museum's collections. He also published articles on the state's architectural history, some of which are published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Mr. Elder chaired the Gallery Committee in the 1980s, now the Museum Committee, and remained actively involved. He was an endless fount of information on Maryland history and will be greatly missed.

Mark B. Letzer

In Memoriam

Karen A. Stuart, a longtime mainstay of the library of the Maryland Historical Society, died of cancer at the age of fifty-nine on August 19, 2014, at Stella Maris Hospice in Timonium. Born in Greensboro, North Carolina, she was raised in Lutherville and was a graduate of Towson High School, Loyola College, and the College of William & Mary, from which last she earned a master's degree in American history in 1984. From 1979 to 1985 she was our Assistant Manuscripts Librarian under Donna Ellis, in addition to serving as Assistant Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. On the resignation of Head Librarian William B. Keller in 1985, she became Acting Head Librarian, and in 1986 was confirmed as Head Librarian, a position she held until she left us in 1990 to join the Library of Congress as a manuscripts archivist. She had been at the Library of Congress, and a resident of Alexandria, Virginia, ever since that time. A specialist in colonial American history, she was a consummate professional in the administration of libraries in general and manuscript collections in particular. Her memory remains green in the Maryland Historical Society's library and in the hearts of many of its longtime patrons.

Francis O'Neill

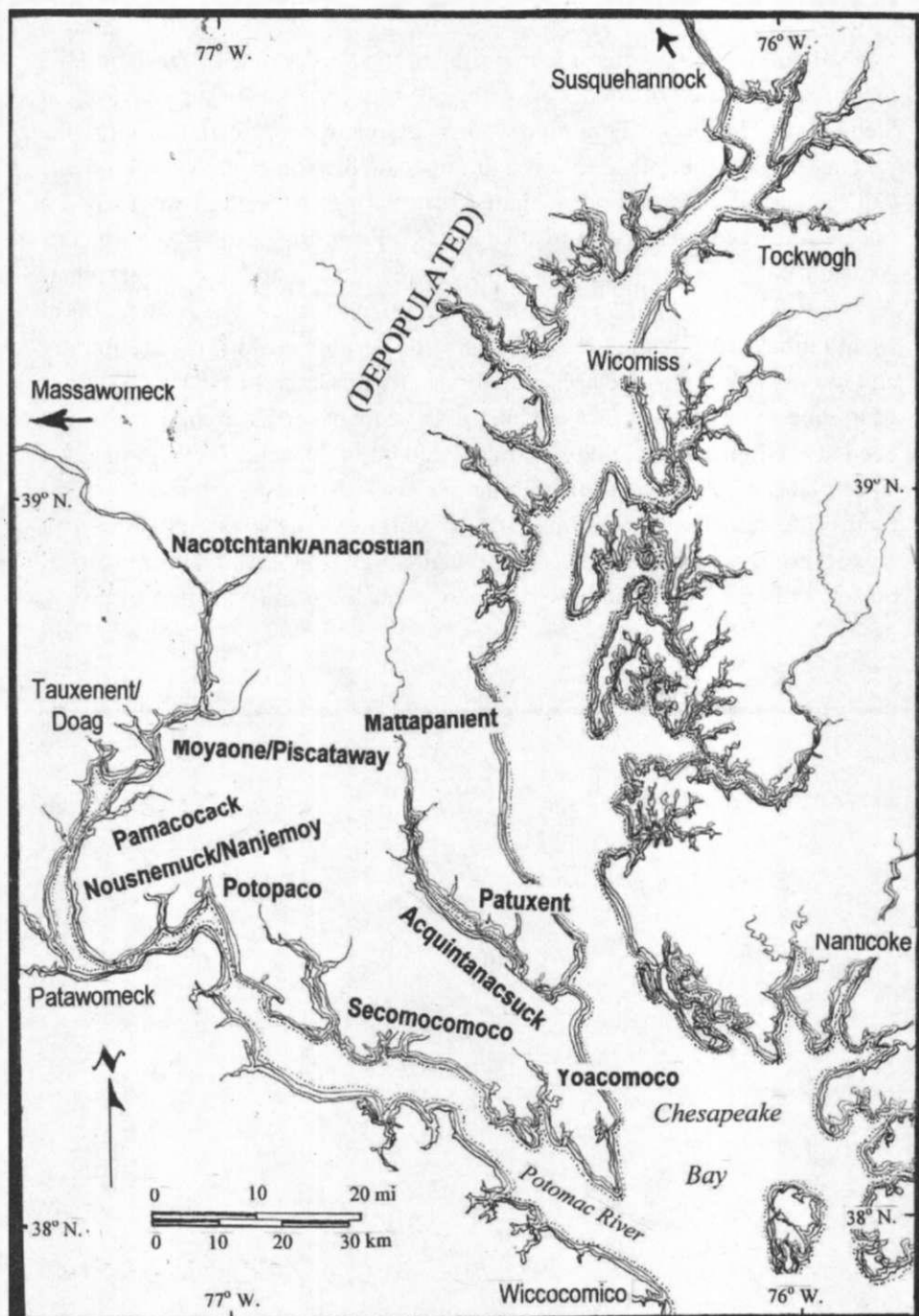


Figure 3-1. Native peoples of Southern Maryland and adjacent regions. Map by Helen Rountree.

Book Excerpt

The Early Historic Period, 1608–1633

REBECCA SEIB and HELEN C. ROUNTREE

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is pleased to present a selection from *Indians of Southern Maryland*, a much needed history soon to be published with support from the Friends of the MdHS Press. Authors Rebecca Seib and Helen C. Rountree, both accomplished anthropologists with training in history, are prominent scholars and authorities on Maryland's Native people.

The period when Europeans made occasional visits to southern Maryland, often termed the Protohistoric Period by historians because of the spotty records made at the time, began in the late 1500s and ended in 1633. If we expand the definition to include recorded traditions about "foreign" Indians, then the period began earlier in the sixteenth century, when Massawomecks began raiding the area.¹ Word of all these early contacts would have spread outward in ripples across the region (Fig. 3-1), thanks to the "moccasin telegraph." That explains why people who had never yet met Massawomecks were already afraid of them, and why people who had never met an English trader, with or without his mysterious firearms, were eager to bargain with him at the first meeting.

The Massawomecks were the most important "foreign" visitors to southern Maryland before the English arrived, but regrettably, they are a shadowy people to historians and archaeologists. Records about them are very limited, and are usually from the viewpoint of their opponents. The group does not represent any one archaeological complex, which leads anthropologists to believe that they were a loose confederation of tribes covering a very large area that may have extended across the mountains of Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania and into Ohio. Henry Fleet, who met some of them in 1631–32 with an interpreter available,² reported that the term referred to five tribes: Tohoga, Mosticum, Shannetowa, and Usserahak, all allied with one another, plus people called Herekeens. The Mosticums seem to have been Algonquian-speakers (possibly the Muskingums, in Ohio), for the letter "M" does not appear in northern Iroquoian languages. The other four seem to have been Iroquoian-speakers. In particular Shannetowa is cognate with both "Shenandoah" and "Susquehannock," meaning "great field." Ceramics resembling those made by contemporary Susquehannocks have been found in east-central West Virginia (far up the South Branch of the Potomac

River). Labeled the Schultz Phase, they have been dated by archaeologists to the second half of the sixteenth century and a little later. It is therefore tempting to place the Shannetowas geographically in the Schultz Phase's area and then recall that John Smith reported that the "Massawomecks" and the Susquehannocks still living on the river of that name were enemies. That enmity would make sense if there had been an earlier rupture within the Susquehannocks, with disaffected people heading westward but coming back as raiders. The Herekeens lived farther from Maryland than the others, and once they acquired metal implements from French traders in what is now Canada, they became much more choosy in what they would purchase from Englishmen like Henry Fleet. They may have been the people known to history as Erie Indians, whose name for themselves is known to have been "Erikehronnon."³

The Massawomecks were known to be great long-distance travelers, "both winter and summer" according to Fleet. Most of their travels seem to have been raids, for they were hostile to the Maryland Algonquian-speakers except for the Nacotchtanks/Anacostians, who had managed to make a truce with them and establish themselves as middlemen. John Smith heard from Powhatan himself of a terrible raid in 1606, in which Massawomecks (Powhatan called them "Pocoughtraonacks") had killed a hundred people among the Patawomecks and Piscataways. In 1608, Smith met and deflected a Massawomeck raiding party aiming at the Tockwoghs at the head of Chesapeake Bay; Henry Spelman witnessed the Patawomecks being raided in 1610; and in 1631 Henry Fleet found that the Piscataways were dead set against his going upriver to meet with enemies who, they said, had killed a thousand of their people in the previous few years. (We find that figure exaggerated, but the enmity was real.)

Two major factors would account for the southern Maryland Indians' hatred of the Massawomecks, both having to do with their superior military technology. First, some of them (the Herekeens) had connections with the French far to the north, giving them early access to iron hatchets that kept an edge longer than stone axes did. And secondly, they traveled in birchbark canoes that were considerably faster than heavy log dugouts. (That the raiders had such canoes is another argument for their being from the northwest; the southernmost extent of the paper birch [*Betula papyrifera*] is in the mountains of northern West Virginia, where they are merely small, struggling shrubs.⁴) That combination of better weapons and faster transport meant that the Massawomecks could strike almost without warning, hit hard, and then escape pursuit easily. What's more, light canoes that could be carried over portages allowed them to make their waterborne attacks over a wider range of territory: both the Potomac River basin and the head of Chesapeake Bay⁵—reason enough for the outrage the Algonquian-speakers felt. The Massawomecks began trading their furs with the Virginia English in the 1630s, but the newly arrived Maryland English would soon cut that trade off. Not long afterward, they disappeared from the historical record, probably because they became known by a different name: "Black

Minqua" has been suggested, since the 1673 Augustin Herrman map shows people of that name living in the old Massawomeck region.

Probably in response to pressure from the Massawomecks, the Virginia Algonquians began organizing an ever-larger paramount chiefdom in the late sixteenth century, headed by Powhatan. By 1608, Powhatan's influence, if not domination, had drawn in the Patowomecks on the south bank of the Potomac, and he laid claim to the Tauxenents (English version: Doags) upstream. North bank people like the Nanjemoyes and Piscataways may also have been pressured for an alliance, which would not have sat well with the Piscataway tayacs. Piscataway oral tradition recorded in the 1660s said that the tayacs were already forming their own paramountcy by then: their reason would have been to combat not just the threat but the actuality of Massawomeck raids coming down the Potomac, with or without organizational help from the Nanticokes (see Chapter 2). Hearing that foreigners were beginning to enter the Chesapeake Bay from the east would hardly have made defensive alliances more urgent than they already were.

Word also would have arrived in Maryland about the visits of foreigners to more southerly regions. Europeans were, after all, so exotic to native North Americans (the "threatening" part came later) that their arrival would have been exciting news to spread around. Several boatloads of Europeans may have either passed or entered the Virginia Capes in the early and mid-1500s, but the first well-documented attempt at European settlement occurred down on the York River in 1570. A party of Spanish Jesuit missionaries came there to live and began demanding that the Indians in the neighborhood support them in exchange for the gift of Christianity. The local people did not consider that a good bargain, and after a few months they killed most of the Jesuits. When the Spanish military, based in Havana, found out and sent a retaliatory force, their activities left a sour taste among the tribes of the lower James and York Rivers.⁶ Word of the unpleasantness must have traveled far and wide. The Spanish, who claimed all the mid-Atlantic region as their own, visited the Chesapeake again in 1588, this time penetrating as far as the mouth of the Potomac River, where they took two hostages. The tribal identity of the hostages is not known, though one was actually from the Eastern Shore. They were taken involuntarily, so it is not surprising that one of them subsequently died "of grief." The other reached Santo Domingo and then died of smallpox.⁷

The English started later than the Spanish. They are known to have explored around the Outer Banks in the 1540s, but their first serious attempts at settlement (three of them) were on Roanoke Island in the mid-1580s. Hostilities with some of the native people broke out before long, and the colonies did not last.⁸ Word of that unpleasantness may have reached southern Maryland afterward, and it is even more probable that an incident on the lower Virginia Eastern Shore in 1603 was reported northward: an English expedition put in for water and was violently repulsed, for reasons unknown.⁹ Perhaps the local people involved thought the mariners were

Spanish, though more often Native Americans could tell Spanish and English craft and soldiers apart.

When the English built a fort on Jamestown Island in the spring of 1607 and then stayed on and on and on, not being the "visitors" they initially claimed to be, the news would have spread in all directions. The people of southern Maryland, though, would not have met an Englishman until John Smith came exploring in the summer of 1608.¹⁰ His account of his Potomac River exploration is regrettably brief, but at least it was written only four years after the events; his more detailed Rappahannock River adventures were written in 1624 and may be less reliable because of the lapse of time.

Smith and his crew were trying to do two jobs that summer besides recording the locations of Indian towns and potential harbors for English settlements that resulted in the famous John Smith map in 1612. He had also been ordered by the Virginia Company to find the Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean, along with any gold and silver mines in the region. Smith was out of luck on both counts, but the order made him focus heavily on where mountain ranges were (to locate the mines) and go up promising rivers like the Potomac as fast as he decently could (he relied on Indian towns along the way for food and drinking water). The two jobs interfered with one another at times, and on the Potomac River the interference caused Smith to omit a "warrior count" for the Nanjemoy and to miss altogether the Yoacomocos, both of them in southern Maryland. Another reason for the omissions may lie with Smith's guide, Mosco, who came from Wiccocomico on the Virginia side. Mosco may have been directing the English and their trade goods toward his own people. The main effects that Smith's visit had on the southern Maryland residents was to introduce them to metal cutting tools, which they would continue wanting thereafter, and to fix in English minds the idea that the people of the region were friendly and willing to sell corn. That combination guaranteed more English visits, and eventually another colony of Englishmen on their doorstep.

In 1610, an English boy came to live with the Patawomecks, where he probably was introduced to curious people from across the river (and all up and down it). Henry Spelman was on the run from Powhatan, who had become fed up with the Jamestown English. Being in his early teens, he was learning the language rapidly, and he could be questioned about what his people were all about: a major asset in a guest at that time. Spelman never wrote down very much of what he had seen and heard, but he did mention in his account that he witnessed a Massawomeck raid. Later that year he was taken away again by an English captain who had come to buy corn.¹¹ Interestingly, the local chief with whom he lived, Iapassus (or Japazaws), and the captain (Samuel Argall) were the same people who in 1613 would engineer the capture of Pocahontas. English trading visits, especially to the Patawomecks, would become more routine after 1610. Unfortunately, none of the people involved wrote anything about the Indian nations across the river from the Patawomecks. They did

learn one thing about the Piscataways, though: where early Jamestown colonists like John Smith called them "Moyaones," all the later writers called them "Piscataways." "Moyaone" may have been what chief Powhatan called them (his name for the Massawomecks differed, too, from the name used by the Potomac River peoples), or it may have signified only the town, not the nation. (Fig. 3-2)

In 1621 a Jamestown Englishman named John Pory gained information to add to what John Smith had learned about the Patuxent River people thirteen years earlier.¹² Pory was visiting the English settlement recently established on the lower Eastern Shore when a chief from the Patuxent River towns, named Namenacus, came there looking for Thomas Savage, interpreter to the paramount chief of Accomac. When opportunity offered, he took Pory aside and asked him to visit his area; Pory agreed to do so later, after he had finished some other business. Pory then conferred with the nearby Occohannocks, whose chief was the acting ruler of the Virginia part of the Shore at the time,¹³ and with his approval he crossed the bay. There he promptly ran into some local politics.

Namenacus proved to be from Aquintanacsuck, the chiefdom nearest the Patuxent River's mouth. He and his younger brother Wamanato welcomed Pory with a kettleful of boiled oysters, to be eaten aboard the ship. The next day Wamanato took Pory to his town, with its large cornfields, and introduced him to his wife and children before taking him hunting; Pory was escorted back to the ship by Namenacus. The day after that, an exchange was made: twelve beaver skins and a canoe for English trade goods, the first time that beaver skins (rather than the animals) are mentioned in an English record in Virginia or Maryland. Other trade was promised, including corn, an Indian boy (to learn English and become an interpreter), and an Englishman who had run away from his people and lived in the area for five years. But the next day Wamanato stayed home and Namenacus brought none of these things (probably either the Englishman or the local Indian boys were unwilling to leave). So relations soured for a time. But the two sides made up again, and Pory resumed his journey upriver, stopping in various towns as he went. Along the way, he learned that another chief, Cassatowap, was angry with Thomas Savage. The reason was not recorded, but the strained relations indicate that Savage had acted as an interpreter if not also as a trader in one or more unrecorded English expeditions to the area. To ensure the safety of the new Englishman (Pory), Cassatowap and another chief guided him upriver until at Mattapanient, while the two Indian leaders lay "innocently" below in the English ship, there was an attempted ambush. Pory suspected collusion but "released" the two chiefs courteously and managed to return downriver in an outwardly peaceful manner. When he got back to Accomac, the Laughing King told him that Namenacus had tried to lure him to the Patuxent River, with the intent of killing him. Regrettably, Pory recorded no reasons for all these enmities, though he probably learned them because he did, after all, have an interpreter with him.

The Piscataways must have been influenced in some serious way by events unfold-



Figure 3-2. Looking down across Mockley Point, near Moyaone, and up the Potomac River to Washington, D.C. On a clear day, the Washington Monument is visible. Photo by Helen Rountree.

ing downriver after 1610. By 1619 the Patawomecks had nearly detached themselves from Powhatan's sphere of influence, but they were in no position to be closer allies of the Piscataways, rather the reverse. The English were exerting heavy pressure on them to become allies of their own, with mixed results. The Patawomecks really seem to have wanted to be autonomous from everybody while keeping other powerful Indian polities at bay. That proved difficult. In 1619 they invited the English to their town for trade and then refused to parley; the English responded by buying the corn forcibly. The next year the English returned, accompanied by the Patawomecks' former guest, Henry Spelman, to ease the parleying situation and to censure Spelman for having criticized his superior, the English governor.¹⁴ After the beginning of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War in 1622, the English forcibly established an in-residence trading mission with that tribe.¹⁵

The Patawomecks' territory did not have enough good farmland in it to allow them to raise all the corn the English wanted. We therefore suspect that they may have been something more than sellers of corn during these times. They may have provided a base of operations for the English, who were trying to feed over a thousand colonists and who may have gone a-buying to numerous other towns in the area. (The commissions to English ship captains are not clear: "Patawomeck" could mean either the town or the entire river.) Or the Patawomecks may have been acting, or trying to act, as middlemen in the corn trade, a trade which brought them valuable English goods like the metal knives needed by Indian people of both sexes in their work. Any attempt at monopoly would have made the Patawomecks less than popular with a powerful leader like the Piscataway tayac, who was already having to deal with his upriver neighbors, the Nacotchtanks/Anacostians who played middlemen with the Massawomecks. By the early 1620s, the Patawomecks had fallen out with both the Piscataways and the Nacotchtanks/Anacostians. The latter were attacked by a combined force of English and Patawomecks in the summer of 1622.¹⁶

Spelman got caught between the two sides, and it caused his death on March 27, 1623—a major blow to the English because competent interpreters were still not expendable people. If that were not bad enough, a couple of dozen Englishmen died with him. The violence seems to have taken place near Piscataway—at least, the Piscataways were later blamed for it and revenge taken upon them, though Henry Fleet wrote that the "Nacostines" upriver were the real culprits. Spelman's party had arrived in a ship with a shallop to ferry people ashore, and a local man had warned him that the townsmen were only apparently friendly. That probably was not news to Spelman, so he and his men met with the town's chief wearing armor. The chief took offense at the armor and asked Spelman the reason for it. Spelman, in a massive lapse of judgment, told the truth: he had been warned, and by that man (pointing to the one who had warned him). The chief promptly had the man seized and his head cut off and thrown into the fire. Spelman should have bidden the chief adieu at that point, but he did not. He returned the next day without armor, another foolish

move, and the trading session turned into an ambush. Spelman and nearly all the Englishmen with him were killed, their guns, gunpowder, and swords were gathered up by the killers, and their shallop was destroyed. An attack was then made on the ship. The sailors aboard hastily raised sail, and the wind for once being right, outran the canoes and escaped. The townsmen, whether Anacostian or Piscataway, would immediately have begun learning to use the captured guns, if they had not learned already. The only Englishman known to survive the ambush was Henry Fleet, who would spend the next five years among the Indians.¹⁷

A bit farther south, war was raging by then between the Jamestown English and the Powhatans, but except for the skirmishes between the Piscataways-Anacostians and the Patowomecks-English traders, the people of southern Maryland seem to have been uninvolved, sufficiently uninvolved to have the luxury of being curious. Curiosity was what the chief of the Patuxents felt when he heard that the Powhatans were going to make a stand against the English in Pamunkey territory in the summer of 1624. Not only that, he heard that the Pamunkey hosts had planted a great deal of extra corn that spring to feed their James River allies who were bearing the brunt of English raiding. He therefore sent a man south to observe the battle when it took place. The outcome cannot have been comforting to the Patuxents, whose wariness John Pory had observed three years before. The English won hands-down and chopped up all the Pamunkeys' corn.¹⁸ The battle proved to be the sunset of Powhatan power for many a year, and it would eventually free the English to begin spreading their settlements northward. For now, though, there was peace of a sort. The Patuxent chief was taken prisoner by other Englishmen during this time, but his people were selling corn to them and had guided an English party to an unidentified town ("Pocotonk") where they bought furs. The Chesapeake Bay fur trade was getting underway, the furs then being from bear, deer, wildcat, black fox, and otter. One Patuxent councilor gave interpreter Robert Poole a "lion" skin.¹⁹

There are no more English records about the Indians of southern Maryland for eight years, and then we find Henry Fleet, released from captivity and unaffiliated with the Virginia colony, operating as a fur trader, in hot competition with others, of course. He had the advantage of being his own interpreter among the Algonquian-speakers, though not with the Massawomecks. The journal he wrote in 1631-32 shows how wary, rather than hostile, the early contacts between Native people and Europeans really were. It also gives us a vivid picture of a very entrepreneurial time: a time when Virginia tried to prevent people other than her own traders from cashing in, when other traders like Fleet were swarming in (there were no Maryland traders yet, because there was no Maryland), and when most of the Indian nations along the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers were still eager for European tools. William Claiborne's activities on Kent Island, far up the Chesapeake Bay near the Wicomisses, had drawn in the Patuxents, so that by 1635 we have a record of a Patuxent man taking a Wicomiss wife.²⁰ Fleet's business, on the other hand, was with people near

the falls of the Potomac. His journal was published, with omissions, in 1876. A new transcription of it forms an Appendix to this volume.

Fleet was trying to establish firm trading relations with the Piscataways, Anacostians, and Massawomecks (Fig. 3-3), if and when he could contact the latter. But even the downriver people were not easy to deal with. When he arrived at his first stop on October 26, 1631, he found that his hosts, the Yoacomocos, had reneged on an earlier promise to save any beaver skins for him. Instead they had "burned it as the Custom^e is." The Indians of the region, it seemed, had "no use at all for it, being not accustomed to take pains to dress it and make coats of it."²¹ He extracted a promise of non-burning over the next winter and pushed upriver, his eagerness increased by what the Yoacomocos told him about "a strange populous nation called Mowhaks" [Massawomecks]: man eaters" who came from the mountains. Fleet must have known about them already, thanks to his earlier captivity, but he apparently had not seen those enemies as a source of furs until now.

Fleet, like other Europeans, knew that fur-bearing animals produce better pelts in colder regions, and at Maryland's latitude, that meant the mountains, but he could not go up into the mountains because winter was approaching. On December 6 he turned around and tried to sail for New England only to be driven back from the Capes and into the James River by adverse winds. He then went upriver to Jamestown to get provisions and check in with the Virginia governor, and remained there until early January 1632, when he did sail to New England to finish some business and pick up more provisions and also trade goods for dealing with Indians. On his return to Chesapeake Bay, he met with William Claiborne, who was establishing a trading center on Kent Island, and learned that the Virginia governor had received numerous complaints about his own trading activities. Fleet would have to be doubly on the lookout now for Virginia traders with intentions toward the Potomac River tribes. As it turned out, he also had to be wary of former friends who were now competitors. He learned at Yoacomoco, where some of his compatriots had already been waiting for him for three weeks, that a former trading partner of his named Harman had gone up the Potomac River early last winter and tried unsuccessfully to buy beaver skins. Arriving back at Yoacomoco, Harman had lied to everyone and said that Fleet was dead, so that they could trade with him, which they did. For Fleet, that ended a second year's hope of any beaver skins from the Yoacomocos.

On May 21, Fleet sent his brother and two Indian men to tell the Piscataway *tayac* he was coming to see him. He also sent other Indian men upriver to stop at towns along the way and ask that they be ready to sell their beaver skins. But when he visited the towns soon afterward, he discovered that Harman had cleaned them all out.

Fleet arrived at Piscataway, in a ship with a shallower-draft pinnace accompanying him, on June 3, 1632. The *tayac* extended his best greeting. Rather than meeting him ashore, he had himself paddled—by a district chief, not by a commoner—out

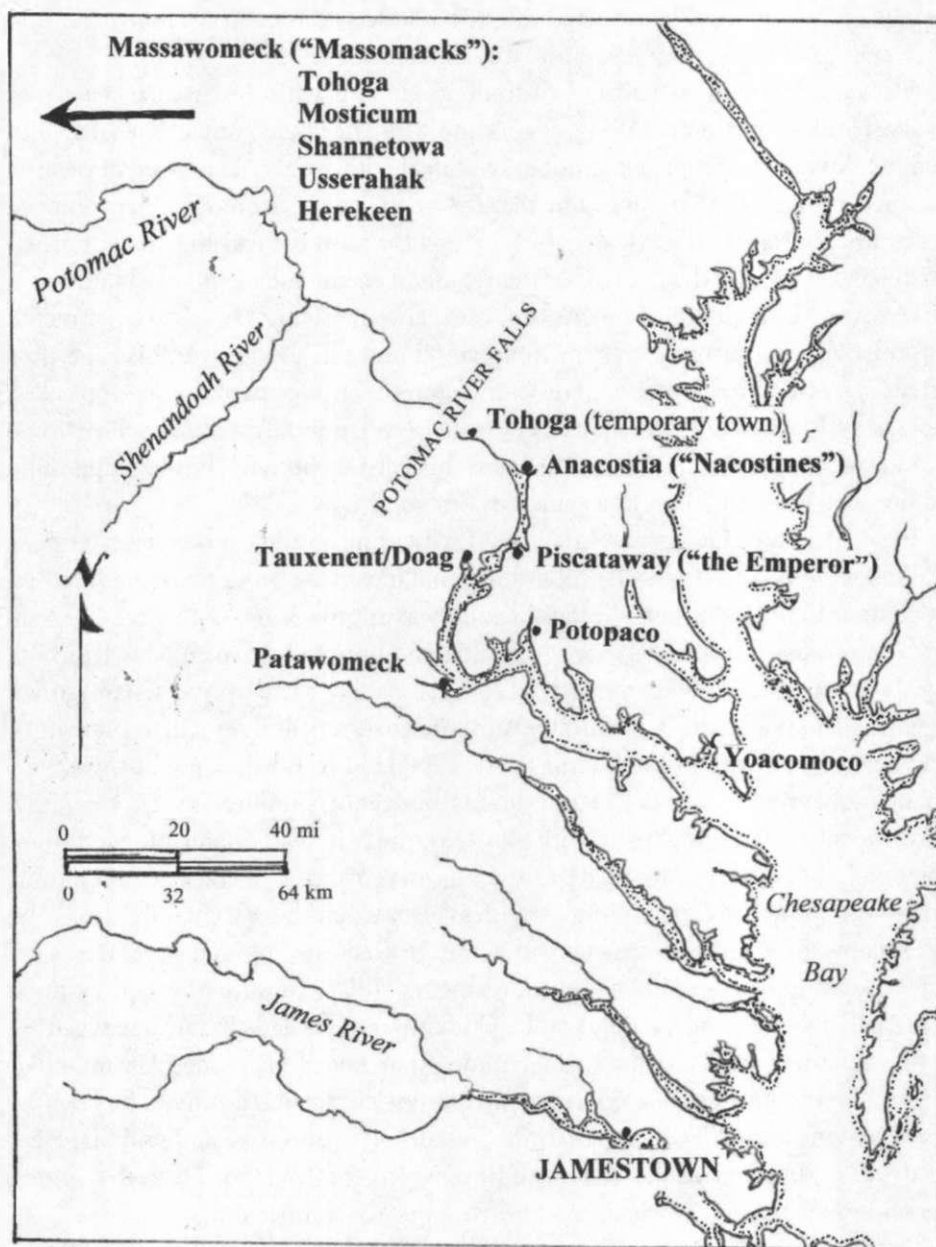


Figure 3-3. Territory visited by Henry Fleet, 1631-32. Map by Helen C. Rountree.

to the ship. There he offered apologies and excuses for letting Harman buy his town's hides, after which he presented Fleet with 114 beaver hides, which he had held back. He could not have been pleased when Fleet went on to buy hides from the Anacostians, whom Harman had not visited, and to hear that Fleet hoped to meet and trade with Massawomecks as well. Those mountain groups had made the Anacostians into

middlemen who "used to convey all such English truck [goods] as cometh into this river" into their hands, which caused jealousy and sometimes violence. Fleet wrote that the Piscataways had lost "1000 persons in my time" of captivity (1623-28), so he knew he would cause a double offense by going upriver.

Nevertheless, Fleet was "on the make" as a trader, so he persisted in trying to contact the Massawomecks. On June 13 he found and questioned an Anacostian-Massawomeck interpreter, hearing how (relatively) densely populated the Massawomeck country was and how the people there made beaver-skin coats. They were not accessible to the English by water, for the rivers they lived on would only take canoes (true of the Potomac in many places above its falls), but Fleet was cheered to hear that they were "great travelers winter and summer." So he had them summoned downriver to meet him, over the protests of the Piscataways and their downriver neighbors. A birch bark canoe of Massawomeck emissaries came to the parley and tried to persuade Fleet to trade exclusively with them. Fleet demurred. Ultimately he sent his brother Edward and two Indian men back upriver with the emissaries, telling them to hand out presents and conduct negotiations in the Massawomecks' towns. Fleet then went in the pinnace to what seems to have been a temporary town, called Tohoga (probably analogous to the sector of Massawomecks who called themselves Tohoga), located two leagues (nine miles) below the falls of the Potomac. There he stopped and waited for his brother's return, which occurred on July 3, with news that elated him. Edward Fleet had been welcomed heartily, and for the first half of his five-day journey back (as opposed to seven days going up), 110 Indians had accompanied him, laden with beaver. This escort had intended to go the whole way back to Tohoga, which would have opened direct trade between Fleet and the Massawomecks, but the Anacostians were not about to lose their middleman position. A party of them had intercepted the travelers halfway and poisoned their minds, saying that the Piscataways accompanying the Englishman planned to murder them in revenge for earlier Massawomeck raids. The Massawomecks stopped where they were and let Fleet's brother finish the journey alone.

Fleet went to the Anacostians the next morning about these intrigues, but they claimed to know nothing about anything. Instead they offered to bring the 110 Massawomecks to their town if Fleet would make "a firm league" with them and give their chief "a present" (unspecified). Fleet wrote later, "The refusal of this offer was the greatest folly that I have committed." From that moment on, the Anacostians would work against him, which also meant he had lost his interpreter.

Some of the Massawomecks came down to see Fleet anyway on July 10. They were from the Usserahak sector of the Massawomecks, and their number included a woman who could act as interpreter, which enabled Fleet to assuage any fears they had. They agreed to bring the rest of their traveling party downriver and asked Fleet to send an Englishman with them, which he did. Then on July 11, a different set of people came downriver: different attire, including a "red fringe," a much

haughtier attitude—Fleet's trade goods did not impress them—and two axes that Fleet recognized as having come from England by way of Canada. They claimed to be from the Mosticum part of the Massawomecks, but Fleet learned later that they were Herekeens, who lived closer to Canada and were in enmity with the other four groups. Another member of Fleet's party was eager to go home with them, which Fleet had to allow, and the meeting ended.

On July 15 the Usserhaks returned with their interpreter. They were dismayed to hear of the young man who had gone with the Herekeens, whom they now identified for Fleet, probably based upon his description of their appearance. They said that more of their people wanted to come downriver and view the English trade goods, to which Fleet agreed. As they left, he asked them to follow the Herekeens and retrieve the Englishman from among them.

In his pinnace, Fleet went back downriver to Piscataway on July 18, where his ship lay and where he managed to excuse his trading with their enemies. He brought sixteen Usserahaks with him, whom he had hired to bring trade goods from his ship and take them upriver to their own people to look over. The Usserahaks did so, and on August 7 they returned to Fleet's ship with the trade goods and eighty skins sent with them by the Tohogas. Nine hundred Tonhogas had been planning to come downriver by canoe, they said, in spite of more Anacostian warnings, but they had been halted by two false rumors, namely, that Fleet's trade goods were worthless and also that the Herekeens had visited Fleet and killed one of his men. The Usserahaks needed reassurance. Fleet gave it, but because he was running out of food for himself and his sailors, and the Piscataways apparently could no longer be prevailed upon, he had to take the ship and pinnace back downriver in search of provisions. He would not return upriver again, at least for that year. He arrived at Moyumps (Tauxenent on John Smith's map), where three men from Usserahak, Tohoga, and Mosticum met him. They asked him to stay there fifteen days, while they sent for their people to come and trade. Fleet agreed, but his plan was foiled on August 28 by the arrival of a force of Virginia English, who arrested him and escorted him to Jamestown. He was able to stop at Indian towns along the way and get them to promise to save skins for him, but for the time being his trading mission to the Massawomecks was at an end. Once in Jamestown, he reassured the governor of his cooperation, and as they were both English gentlemen, he was set free to go trading again, though he left no record about further activities in the Potomac River area.

THUS, ON THE EVE of the English founding their Maryland colony, a number of complex relationships were already in place among the Native people of southern Maryland. All but the Anacostians hated the Massawomecks and the Susquehannocks, who hated each other. The Anacostians were allies of the Massawomecks and eager to be middlemen for them in the fur trade, which made them distrusted by everyone downriver and also by the English traders. Everyone in southern Maryland

was willing to tolerate the Virginia English, with whom they had had some troubles in the past, because the fur trade was already proving to be profitable. When a different group of English arrived in 1634 intent upon establishing a colony separate from Virginia, the native people probably considered them to be mainly interested in trading. They would make the same mistake with the Maryland English that the Powhatans had made with the English in Virginia: they would not realize until it was too late, that the foreigners were not only interested in staying, but that they were farmers who would eventually thrive and spread out, and the native people would be the losers thereby.

NOTES

1. Smith, "Map of Va.," 165–66; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 107, 665; Strachey, *Historie*, 107. See also Fleet, "Journal," 25 et passim, and page 184 in the Appendix to this volume.
2. Fleet himself spoke a Potomac River Algonquian language after five years' captivity there in the 1620s. In 1631 he found a local interpreter who spoke one or more Massawomeck languages. "Massawomeck" was the name used by Indian people at least from the Potomac River northward. Its meaning (probably derogatory) is unknown, as is the meaning of "Poughtraonack."
3. For an overall view that is only beginning to become dated, see James Pendergast, "The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81(2) (1991). Names: Appendix to this volume, 185. Geography and letter "M": outcome of a conference of archaeologists, sponsored by Helen Rountree in 2006, including Stuart Fiedel, supplier of linguistic information. For the Susquehannock connection see, among others, Janet G. Brashler, "A Middle 16th Century Susquehannock Village in Hampshire County, West Virginia," *Pennsylvania Archeologist* 39 (1987): 1–30. Barry Kent and James Herbstritt concurred with her conclusions, while William Johnson disagreed (2006 conference). Smith, "Map of Va.," 231; Smith, "Generall Historie," 171; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 266 (Susquehannock-Massawomeck enmity). Fleet, "Journal," 30–31, and p. 187 of the Appendix to this volume (Herekeens). Bernard G. Hoffman, "Observations on Certain Ancient Tribes of the Northern Appalachian Province," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 191 (1964): 210–11, suggested that the Herekeens were Eries, which was seconded by the late Blair Rudes in a personal communication to Helen Rountree, 2006.
4. A. M. Harvill Jr., Ted R. Bradley, Charles E. Stevens, Thomas F. Wieboldt, Donna M. E. Ware, Douglas W. Ogle, Gwynn W. Ramsey, and Gary P. Fleming, *Atlas of the Virginia Flora*, 3rd ed. (Burkeville, Va.: Virginia Botanical Associates, 1992), 69, and P. E. Strasbaugh and Earl L. Cole, "Flora of West Virginia," *West Virginia Bulletin*, series 52, no. 12-2; series 63, no. 12-1; series 58, no. 12-3; series 65, no. 3-2 (1952–64), 296, place the paper birch (*Betula papyrifera*) in Virginia and West Virginia, respectively. However, new work by Alan S. Weakley, J. Christopher Ludwig, John F. Townsend, and Bland Crowder, *Flora of Virginia* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Botanical Research Institute of Texas Press, 2012), 416, 1370, indicates that there was a misidentification with a similar species (*Betula cordiformis*), at least in Virginia. The Maryland manual, Melvin L. Brown and Russell G. Brown, *Woody Plants of Maryland* (Baltimore: Port City Press, 1972), has no entry for paper birch. Presumably the Blue Ridge and Alleghenies are not high (and therefore cold) enough at Maryland's latitude.

5. Page 185 in Appendix to this volume (travelers; omitted in Neill's 1876 transcription). Ibid.: 4, and Fleet, "Journal," 25 (truce with Nacotchtanks). Smith, "True Relation," 56; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 161 (killing Patowomecks and Piscataways). Smith, "Map of Va.," 230–31; Smith, "Generall Historie," 170–71; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 265–66 (raiding Tockwoghs). Spelman, "Relation of Virginia," cxiv; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 494 (raiding Patowomecks). Fleet, "Journal," 26, and p. 185 of the Appendix to this volume (having raided Piscataways). Smith, "Map of Va.," 232; Smith, "Generall Historie," 172; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 268; Fleet, "Journal," 31 and p. 187 of the Appendix to this volume (weapons from French; Fleet wrote that Herekeens had axes similar to those of a London merchant, and they got them 15 days' journey north, i.e., in Canada). Smith, "Map of Va.," 166; Smith, "Generall Historie," 119; Strachey, *Historie of Travell*, 108; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 666; Fleet, "Journal," 26, and p. 185 of the Appendix to this volume (birchbark canoes). People living along the upper Potomac River could reach the head of Chesapeake Bay fairly easily, through the supposedly "trackless" wilderness, by canoe and an overland portage thanks to the layout of the waterways: they could go down the Potomac, up the Monocacy River, east on Bush Creek, whose headwaters reach (near Mt. Airy, Md.) within a mile of the headwaters of the South Branch of the Patapsco River, then down the Patapsco to the bay. The distance between Bush Creek's mouth and the junction of the north and south branches of the Patapsco is about 25 miles or 40 kilometers (U.S.G.S. topographic maps), and the actual portage along those small streams was probably less than that for birchbark canoes. The stretch west of Mt. Airy is followed today by Interstate 70 and U.S. 40; it was formerly part of the Old National Turnpike, indicating that the route is very old, probably reaching back into Indian times.
6. Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570–1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Charlotte M. Gradie, "Spanish Jesuits in Virginia: The Mission that Failed," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 96 (1088): 131–56; Charlotte M. Gradie, "The Powhatans in the Context of the Spanish Empire," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 154–72. For a wider study of Spanish explorations and missionizing along the Atlantic coast, see Paul Hoffman, "New Light on Vincente Gonzales's 1585 Voyage in Search of Raleigh's English Colonies," *North Carolina Historical Review* 63 (1986): 199–223, and idem., *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).
7. Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit Mission*, 56.
8. Original documents: David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590* (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society. Series 2, Vol. 104 [1955]). Interpretive works: David Beers Quinn, "Thomas Hariot and the Virginia Voyages of 1602," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser.) 27 (1970): 268–81; idem, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974); idem, *North America From Earliest Discovery to First Settlement* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); idem, *The Lost Colonists and Their Probable Fate* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984); idem, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980); idem, *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); and idem, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).
9. Thomas Canner, "A Relation of the Voyage Made to Virginia in the Elizabeth of London . . . in the Yeere 1603," in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes.*, ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904–1906), 18:329–35.

10. Smith, "Map of Va.," 224-33; Smith, "Generall Historie," 162-78; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 254-76.
11. Samuel Argall, "A Letter of Sir Samuel Argall touching his Voyage to Virginia, and Actions There: Written to Master Nicholas Hawes" [1613], in Purchas, ed., *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 19:90-95. Spelman, "Relation of Virginia"; Strachey, *Historie*, 46-47; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 482-95 (Spelman), 606 (Strachey), 752-56 (Argall).
12. Smith, "Generall Historie," 288-90.
13. Pory wrote in the same account that the "Laughing King" at Accomac [near modern Cheriton] was the titular ruler but an easy-going man who allowed his more energetic younger brother, Kiptopeke, to do the active ruling from his base at Occohanooch. Virginia land patents reveal the Laughing King's proper name to be Esmy Shichans.
14. Kingsbury, *Va. Co. Recs.*, 3:147 and 268 (1619), 242 and 244-45 (Spelman).
15. Smith, *Generall Historie*, 304ff.
16. *Ibid.*, 305, 309. Smith actually lists the Piscataways and Anacostians plus the Moyaons; the list is also the first mention in English records of the Piscataways under that name. Cissna, "Piscataway Ethnohistory" (Ph.D. diss., American University, 1986), 121, suggests that the Piscataways and the Moyaons may still have been separate; we suggest that the names represent two separate towns, and that the tayac may have been in the process of changing his capital to Piscataway.
17. Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4:61, 89, 105, 108-9; *ibid.*: 450 (Piscataways blamed); Fleet, "Journal," 25, and p. 184 of the Appendix to this volume (Anacostians blamed). Fleet says only that he was "detained in this river," without specifying where he lived.
18. Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4:450-51, 507-8.
19. Anonymous, "Relation . . . 1634," 74 (capture); H. R. McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676*, 2nd ed. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1979 [1924]), 29-30 (trading).
20. Anonymous, "Relation . . . 1634," 89.
21. Fleet, "Journal," 20, 24; pp. 181, 183 of the Appendix to this volume.



Richard Collett's Maryland. Detail, John Speed, Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1676. (Maryland Historical Society.)

“Convicted of a Scandalous Offence against the Government”: Political Culture and the English Civil War in Colonial Maryland

STEVEN CARL SMITH

In April 1655, a sheriff named Richard Collett was banished from the proprietary colony of Maryland. According to records of the provincial court, Collett was “Convicted of a Scandalous offence against the Governmt by his Subscribint of a Petitiion of Dangerous Contnents.” Collett arrived in 1650, a refugee of England’s civil wars, and emerged as an impromptu attorney before landing a position as the high sheriff of Calvert County after winning favor from the colony’s ruling party. Fifteen months after his banishment, he reappeared and eventually took up his old office of high sheriff in Calvert County. Collett’s life ended dramatically in 1668, following a brutal assault by Captain Thomas Manning, a fellow middling political appointee who often sat next to him during sessions of the Calvert County court. Collett’s banishment, and eventual death at the hands of a violent, unhinged fellow landholder offers a compelling example of just how profoundly unstable the political infrastructure of Maryland was in the seventeenth century.¹

Shortly after Collett’s arrival, Maryland fell into religious and political turmoil, as confessional and political disputes not resolved in Britain arrived on the colony’s shores along with scores of ambitious young men. Collett was a participant in and political casualty of the mid-century civil war that rocked the colony. This conflict, and the series of political crises that followed in the 1670s and 1680s, grew out of a long-standing controversy over the “nature of the English constitution.” Collett and his family were caught between the equally polarizing establishment of Maryland by a Catholic family and the crisis of the English Civil War. These two conflicts, separated by the Atlantic Ocean, came crashing together in the mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Richard Collett was one of the many casualties of this perfect storm, and his experience in England and Maryland allows us to trace the ligaments of political and religious conflict in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world.²

Little Gidding

Richard Collett’s life began auspiciously. Born in 1602 in Cambridgeshire, England,

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he was one of sixteen children of John and Susanna Collett. Following an outbreak of the black plague in London, the couple moved their sprawling family to Huntingdonshire, about thirty miles outside Cambridge, to be part of a small religious community known as Little Gidding. Richard's uncle, Nicholas Ferrar, the son of a London merchant and a deputy of the Virginia Company, had founded Little Gidding to pursue an austere, godly life after the company had gone bust. The community became, in a way, the intellectual center of the company's failed efforts in Virginia. After extensive repairs to an old church and house, Ferrar and his followers built a school for local children, an almshouse, and a dispensary to provide medicine for the surrounding region. This community of forty or so people was the culmination of Ferrar's vision of an ideal Anglican society.³

Although Little Gidding was modeled on the typical, hierarchical household of early modern English society, Nicholas Ferrar, the man to whom the small community looked for leadership, both spiritual and practical, was not afraid to involve women as well as men in the decision-making process. Management of the household, and thus the means of Little Gidding's daily subsistence, fell to Richard Collett's mother Susanna—Nicholas Ferrar's sister—and Collett's two oldest sisters, Mary and Anna. Mary, a celibate woman of means and likely caretaker to young Richard, essentially shared the burden of leadership with her uncle Nicholas. Though she was never recognized formally as either one of the leaders or *the* leader of Little Gidding, the community nevertheless looked to her for guidance.

Richard and his wife Elizabeth were part of a remarkable community of women at Little Gidding. We know little about Elizabeth, but we do know a great deal about the women, such as Richard's older sisters and his younger cousin Virginia Ferrar, whom Elizabeth would have considered mentors, peers, friends, and family. In particular, scholars have highlighted what became known as the "Little Academy," a discussion and educational program at Little Gidding that consisted of the Ferrar and Collett women. The Little Academy was just one aspect of the community's educational apparatus. Young boys attended the school, while their older brothers, presumably including Richard, were sent to London to apprentice in various trades and professions. The Little Academy, by contrast, was created by and for the older Ferrar and Collett sisters. When it met, the sisters engaged in a Socratic dialogue on a pre-determined topic.

The Little Academy, as historian Kate E. Riley points out, was atypical in early modern England. Outside aristocratic circles, it would have been unusual for young women to practice oratory and engage in leisurely or scholarly pursuits. In addition to their intellectual engagement, women at Little Gidding had authorial and even imperial ambitions. Virginia Ferrar, who was named after the Virginia colony, worked side-by-side with her father, John Ferrar, to author texts for the colonial and metropolitan reader alike, including a 1667 map of Virginia directly attributed to her pen. On top of learning typical household tasks, Virginia Ferrar and her sisters and

cousins were also invested in making books, which included mastering the art of printing and binding. According to the seventeenth-century observer Thomas Fuller, the women at Little Gidding were "employed in learned and pious work to binde Bibles" including a text "most exactly done" and thus "presented to King Charles."⁴

The establishment of Little Gidding, small and austere as it was, can also be seen as bold political statement. Despite residing in the largely Parliamentarian Huntingdonshire during the English Civil War, the Ferrar and Collett families had been nominal supporters of King Charles I, who grew to admire this esoteric religious community and their hand-stitched books. In May 1636, for example, William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented a gospel harmony he had commissioned along with John Cosin to Charles I. Evidently pleased with the work, Charles requested that the community create for him a volume that integrated several books of the Old Testament, a text that John and Nicholas personally delivered to Whitehall in April 1640, less than two weeks before the first meeting of the Short Parliament. Charles I, with or without his handmade books, visited the small community twice in the 1640s. His first visit occurred just prior to the opening shots of the First Civil War as he journeyed to Yorkshire in March 1642; his second visit was under far more dire circumstances.⁵

Little Gidding's political grandstanding did not come without hardships. Following the outbreak of hostilities between the Parliamentarians and the Royalists, John Ferrar, who assumed leadership of the community following the death of his brother, realized that remaining in Huntingdonshire was becoming increasingly dangerous. Fearing violence at the hands of Parliamentarians, the Ferrar and Collett families abandoned Little Gidding. In a letter to his son, John Ferrar explained his decision:

We were faine to Submitt to a longe Sequestration for then the Waues Raged horribly but that was not all to Saue our Consciences from what was Imposed that that might not Ruine alsoe We rather resolved to leaue our Native Country and soe I tooke you [&] my [Virginia Ferrar] and Went beyound sea and some of our Dearest Freinds fellowes in our Missery did accompayny vs beyound sea This being our Case and knowinge our best helpe and Comforte must be in god he having safely brought us in to an other land.

The Ferrar family and their "Dearest Freinds" lived in exile for two years, possibly in Holland. The fragmentation of Little Gidding would result in members of the community facing persecution during the civil wars.⁶

John Ferrar and his family returned to Little Gidding in late 1645 or early 1646, at a time when the community became a refuge for Royalist military forces. In April 1646, Charles I made his second visit, this time seeking sanctuary after the disastrous Battle of Naseby. While there is no doubt that John Ferrar and his followers supported the king, Ferrar was adamant that Charles not remain long at

Little Gidding because Parliamentary agents patrolled the area. He instead directed the king to stay in the village of Coppingford, where he knew enemy forces seldom ventured. Shortly thereafter, Little Gidding suffered a stinging rebuke from the Parliamentarians. Late in the summer of 1646, as legend has it, the community was allegedly sacked by Puritan soldiers, who may have dismantled a great deal of the manor, including the church organ, and who did plunder much of the furniture and provisions. It is likely that Richard Collett witnessed the persecution first-hand. His migration to Maryland, then, can be interpreted more as a forced exile and less as an opportunistic venture.⁷

In light of recent scholarship on the Little Gidding community, it is also likely that confessional politics and continued imperial ambition influenced Richard Collett's choice of Maryland as a landing point. Little Gidding, though not Catholic, was ostensibly High Anglican. The community was thus viewed by contemporary observers and critics alike as being religiously eccentric, given the adoption of several methods of worship and spiritual observance that were at least inspired by Roman traditions: contemplation, asceticism, and celibacy. To some, Little Gidding resembled a monastery. The large Ferrar-Collett household, located on private, isolated land in Huntingdonshire, was spatially and hierarchically organized in such a way that the many unwed men and women lived in separate quarters at opposite ends of the home. The fabric of everyday life centered on chapel attendance and a work cycle meant to sustain their basic material well-being and, above all, their devotion to God. At the very least, the community resembled other Catholic households in seventeenth-century England, such as a Newcastle residence that housed Jesuits that regularly provided mass.⁸

Despite retreating from London, and seemingly retired from any sort of material and imperial pursuits, the Ferrar-Colletts were still very ambitious and remained in contact with the London business world. Nicholas Ferrar was so attentive to his business pursuits that John felt he was not fully invested in the spiritual health of the community. Nicholas and many of the men at Little Gidding were evidently mobile enough to attend to the community's business interests in London and elsewhere. John was involved for a time in the Skinners' Company in 1630, and the two brothers joined in a short-lived effort to revive the Virginia Company in 1631. To that end, John maintained a correspondence with several planters in the Chesapeake, and his daughter Virginia often penned his letters as an amanuensis, so much so that she was, according to Michael Lloyd Ferrar, "as well known to the people of Virginia as if she lived there." She continued to conduct her father's business in the colony long after his death, becoming so entangled in the commercial and political lives of Virginians that she became something of an expert, Michael Ferrar claimed, on "the colony and its conditions."⁹

It is reasonable to argue that the Little Gidding community had specific political and spiritual interests in re-establishing a connection to the Chesapeake region.

Not only did Richard Collett's arrival create a bridge between High Anglican Little Gidding and recently established Catholic Maryland, it helped assuage the Ferrar family's earlier failures in Virginia. By doing so, the Ferrar-Collett clan could then claim a measure of influence in the colony's confessional politics.

Arrival

The Maryland that greeted Richard Collett was as diverse geographically, agriculturally, and socially as it was politically divisive. As a High Anglican-Royalist, Collett was potentially at odds with the two dominant factions in the province: the Catholic Proprietary party and the Puritan Parliamentarians. While he surely had hoped to extricate himself from such strife by leaving war-torn England behind, what he encountered were more political and confessional schisms. Indeed, the religious toleration envisioned by the Calvert family was beginning to spiral into outright conflict.

The circumstances surrounding Richard Collett's immigration to Maryland are somewhat murky. He arrived in 1650, most likely after the death of his father in March of that year. In 1651 his younger brother John arrived. Richard had left behind his wife Elizabeth, who was eventually transported to Maryland in either 1658 or 1664, depending on the source. That was a common practice, and settlements during this period were marked by a pronounced gender imbalance. Although the gender gap had decreased to three men for every woman by the time Elizabeth rejoined him, this disparity, revealed in headright lists, is a mark of what historian Russell Menard has called a "severe sexual imbalance."¹⁰

Why did Richard Collett leave his wife behind in war-torn England? Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh have speculated that few, if any, women chose to leave behind family and community to migrate to the unknown Maryland wilderness. That may explain Elizabeth Collett's delay. Even though her kinship network became increasingly fractured as a result of religious and political persecution, she had married into a sprawling clan and may have been reluctant to leave for even more uncertainty in Maryland. Possibly she remained in England to attend to the family's financial affairs. Health may have also been a concern. Newly arrived Marylanders usually fell ill, frequently with malaria, and women faced the additional dangers of pregnancy and childbirth.¹¹

It is also worth pointing out Richard Collett's age—forty-eight—on his arrival in 1650, nearly double the average age of recent immigrants. According to Menard, of the 119 free male immigrants who served as justices of the peace, sheriffs, or assemblymen in seventeenth-century Maryland, only 11.8 percent were over the age of forty when they landed in the Chesapeake. Indeed, the average age of officers upon their arrival was 28.5, with the median being twenty-seven. Why would Collett, at such an advanced age, risk death by coming to Maryland? His bold gambit to migrate suggests two possible motivations. First, it is likely that he was the target of

persecution in England due to his association with the Little Gidding community. On the other hand, he might have been lured by the potential for acquiring his own land—sufficient motivation to uproot and leave his family behind, at least for the time being.¹²

Collett first appears in the historical record four years after his arrival, when several Maryland landowners presented “letters of attorney” to the provincial court. As legal documents that granted power of attorney, letters of attorney allowed just about anyone to act as a barrister within the framework of the legal system, with or without professional credentials. Letters of attorney grew progressively more complex as the line between “power of attorney” and “warrant of attorney”—which granted someone acting as an attorney power to retrieve outstanding debts on behalf of the client—became increasingly blurred in seventeenth-century Maryland. The attorney-client relationship soon reflected social and political networks, as landowners and merchants alike wanted their close friends to represent them in court. The handful of cases in which Collett took part suggests that this sort of confluence of friendship and legal representation was as ordinary as it was widespread. For example, in April 1654, Lawrence Ward of Virginia constituted his “friend mr Richard Collett” his “Lawfull Attorney” to “receive all Such debts as are due to me in Putuxent River in the Province of Maryland,” to be done “as I my Self were present.” At the same session of the court, Collett presented a letter of attorney from John Davis, a small Catholic landholder and part-time carpenter, that granted him a variety of powers. Davis’s St. Mary’s County estate was valued at one hundred acres, and he asked Collett to “receive and pay, to arrest, plead and imprison, to release quitt and Discharge for me in my Name” several thousand pounds of tobacco and a “hog worth 250 of Tob:” from Robert Taylor, who happened to be in debt to Ward. Taylor, a substantial landholder who owned contracts of at least twenty-six servants from 1651 until his death in 1660, was ordered by the court to pay both Ward and Davis their respective debts, with Ward receiving 352 pounds of tobacco and Davis receiving his hog worth 250 pounds of tobacco. What is not revealed in the settlements is just how much Collett profited from these friendly arrangements.¹³

Collett’s political profile seemed to be on the rise after his appearance in court as an attorney. Despite his own religious beliefs, his career eventually became entangled with the Catholic Proprietary party. In July 1654, the same year that Calvert County was incorporated into the colony, Collett was appointed to be the new jurisdiction’s “high Sheriff” by Governor William Stone, a man whose time in office was marked by constant conflict.

This act of political patronage would have far-reaching consequences for Collett and his family, for with this appointment, Stone granted Collett significant power in Calvert County. Sheriffs were paid administrators who made arrests, collected taxes, ran the county jail, gathered and paid fees for fellow officials, and oversaw Assembly elections, while also reserving the power to raise a militia in order to take care of

domestic unrest. The county sheriff, then, was a position that required a great deal of savvy. Indeed, the eighteenth-century attorney general Stephen Bordley pointed out that "the Sheriffs office [was] a place of either Considerable gain or . . . Considerable loss; & the difference turns upon . . . Care, Exactness & diligence in the Execution of it." Sheriffs were often used by officials as public muscle. Edward English, for example, was known to have terrorized Cecil County in the 1680s, causing numerous landholders to file complaints to the colonial council:

[Joseph Hawkins] likewise saith that since his Ldsp had made Mr Edwaard English high Sheriff of Caecil County he had behaved himself very high and arrogantly to the people there not sticking to say that since his Lspp had given him the Comand of the County the people must and should love him and feare him, and that he hath heard that Mr English or his Subsheriff should threaten and give out publickly that when they went about to Receive the Rents and leavys they would meete with some particular persons that had sett their hands to a petition and they would strip draw and tumble their Tobacco Sufficiently.¹⁴

It is not clear whether Richard Collett ever abused his office, but he did use his authority to regulate the pace of daily life in Calvert County. Collett was charged with keeping the peace in a county that was still very much a sparsely settled frontier, where violence and lawlessness were all too common. In November 1660, Governor Phillip Calvert ordered Collett "to raise the greatest number of men yow can, and wth them to march away to the Mill imediatly" to investigate and stamp out a public disturbance. Calvert was so confident in Collett's ability to maintain order that he commented before the colonial assembly that Collett possessed the "fidelity and readiness to doe . . . service in preseruing the Countrey in peace." Further, in March 1663, Calvert ordered Collett to investigate and several seize ships suspected of smuggling tobacco out of the province.

I doe hereby impower yow the sd Rich Collett (in such Case yow shall judge it needful & requisite) to press Men Ammunition & Armes for the more speedy surprizing & seising such Barke, Catch Sloope & other Vessell exporting To hence & not having made such entry as is requisite, Contrary to the Act of Navigacon, & the Law & order of this Province.

After investigating the incident, Collett reported to the court that he had seized a ship from Boston named *The Content* and discovered that the captain, Joseph Winslow, "had Laden on Board his Vessell several hogsheads of Tob, of the groath of this Prouince, before hee had entred into Bond here according to the Act of the high Court of Parliamt in England for encouraging & encreasing of shipping of nauigaon."¹⁵ Collett, it seems, was well on his way to becoming an important man on the ground in the colony's political apparatus.

Despite the hardships the position entailed, Richard Collett, it seems, was a man on the make. While he apparently gained the favor of the Catholic proprietors and their governors, he and his wife Elizabeth lived modestly. It is likely that Collett relied on public service to support his family, since he apparently failed as a farmer in the competitive Chesapeake tobacco market. At the time of his death in 1668, Collett possessed little material wealth. In addition to the land he bequeathed her, Elizabeth received two mares with colts, all of the cattle and hogs, debts owed to him, sheriff's fees, all household items, and a small piece of land Richard had recently acquired. Although the will does not indicate what household items the family possessed, prosperous households during this period typically had individual chairs, several candles, pewter dining dishes, more beds with better fabric, a wider selection of cooking vessels, and occasionally pictures and looking glasses. The material well-being of a modest life in seventeenth-century Maryland, on the other hand, centered on practical necessities such as a bed, a handful of cooking pots, a storage chest, a table, and a gun, and it is not clear—insofar as the will indicates, at least—whether the Colletts ever realized these circumstances. It is also worth noting that Richard Collett's socialization at Little Gidding, which emphasized individual and collective austerity, may have influenced him materially in addition to spiritually. That he was raised in a community that taught him to live a godly life without excessive material comfort may explain why at the time of his death his home contained only the bare necessities needed in the Maryland wilderness.¹⁶

Land and Rebellion

Richard Collett was probably drawn to Maryland by the promise of religious toleration as much as he was by the potential for owning land. The colony as envisioned by George and Cecil Calvert mirrored a traditional, English manorial society based on feudalism, aristocracy, patriarchal households, nucleated settlements, religious toleration, and an economy of fur trading, farming, and household manufacturing. As historian John Krugler points out, the Calverts, as Catholic colonizers, faced an uphill battle convincing the Protestant government in England that they were committed to expanding the crown's domain. The Calvert family assumed that they could assuage competing confessional politics by demonstrating that neither "English" nor "Catholic" were mutually exclusive and that Catholic colonizers could act with the mother country in mind. In order to ease concerns in London, Cecil Calvert was determined to organize his colony around land, loyalty, and liberty of conscience. Relying on the manorial system, the Calverts sought to attract the young sons of the English gentry, for there was much more opportunity to enhance status and wealth in Maryland than in England. The manorial system, they hoped, would produce a familiar hierarchical society based on land and rents which, in turn, would theoretically encourage loyalty to the proprietor. Granting religious freedom, they reasoned, would reduce some of the roadblocks they faced as Catholic colonizers.

Religious toleration in Maryland—which the Calverts hoped would ensure cooperation between Protestants and Catholics and foster loyalty to the proprietors—was meant to prevent any potential political and confessional conflict that could arise in London or the colony.¹⁷

During the first decade that Richard Collett lived in Maryland, the political and religious strife of the English Civil War that he left behind in 1650 followed him to the Chesapeake Bay. In order to fend off aggressive claims to their authority, in North America as well as in London, the Calvert family had to distance themselves from their confessional politics. In so doing, they bowed to the interests of a group of London tobacco merchants, a Protestant community with ties to the Calvert family's enemies in Virginia, who had actively tried to undermine their authority in Maryland and London by lobbying to have their proprietary charter revoked. Forced into a corner, in 1649 the Calverts made a largely symbolic gesture: they appointed a Virginia Protestant, William Stone, to be the new provincial governor. This bold choice was, initially at least, a savvy political maneuver by Lord Baltimore for two reasons. First, Stone had political connections within the London merchant community that had tried, unsuccessfully, to undermine Baltimore's authority in order to gain a greater measure of control of the colony for themselves. The appointment of Stone to the governor's office was, on the surface at least, a way to calm the tensions between London merchants and the Calverts. Second, Stone used his influence in Virginia to encourage a large Puritan community, led by Richard Bennett, to relocate to Maryland. The Puritans, by moving across the Chesapeake Bay, were thus able to avoid persecution by Virginia governor William Berkeley, as staunch an Anglican as he was a Royalist. Indeed, the appointment of Stone and the arrival of Bennett created a political climate in which the Maryland Assembly ratified the Act Concerning Religion in 1649, a law meant to calm growing tensions between Catholics and Protestants in the colony.¹⁸

Religious toleration, however it was initially envisioned, was not necessarily what it seemed when put into actual practice. Constantly at issue was the question of whether a Catholic could be loyal to and serve the interest of England. Thanks to the 1649 statute that granted freedom of confessional practice, more Puritans than either Anglicans or Catholics expressed interest in migrating to Maryland, and perhaps most significantly, they also had the means to do so. This settlement pattern had far-ranging political ramifications. As they considered how to best protect Catholic settlers and ensure that their colony would prosper, the Calvert family made the conscious decision to make confessional identity one less barrier to residency in Maryland.¹⁹

William Stone's encouragement of the Puritan migration was consistent with the designs of the proprietors, who hoped to attract a diverse population in order to solidify the colony's economy. This sentiment is revealed in Stone's commission. "William Stone now or late of Northampton County in Virginia Esqr," the commis-

sion stated, "hath undertaken in some short time to procure five hundred People of British or Irish descent to Come from other places and plant and reside within our said Province of Maryland for the advancement of our colony." It was likely that some of the five hundred settlers Stone brought with him to Maryland in 1649 were indeed the Puritans who would engineer a coup five years later. Stone, of course, had no reason to believe that this act of good will would have the disastrous political consequences it did, and his faith in his Virginia neighbors ultimately brought the colony to the brink of civil war.²⁰

Despite Lord Baltimore's efforts to encourage religious unity and economic stability in his family's colony, Stone's appointment had the opposite effect. In the early months of 1652, William Claiborne and Richard Bennett, commissioners appointed by the new Parliamentary government in England to establish the legitimacy of the English Commonwealth in the Chesapeake, removed Stone and his council. For Claiborne, at least, the hostile takeover was the culmination of a bitter twenty-year feud with Lord Baltimore over the threat that the establishment of Maryland posed to Virginia landowners and the controversy surrounding Claiborne's trading post on Kent Island, which Lord Baltimore took for his own in 1638. Stone refused to acknowledge the commonwealth's claim to authority in Maryland and vowed instead to uphold Lord Baltimore's charter. As a way to further solidify their claim to power, Claiborne and Bennett dissolved the provincial court. And while mounting tensions were assuaged somewhat in July 1652 when Governor Stone and his council were allowed to resume their duties, the next two years witnessed heightened anxieties and continued jostling for power between Claiborne, Bennett, and Stone's proprietary administration.²¹

The conflict climaxed in July 1654 when hostile Protestants who had supported Claiborne and Bennett's Parliamentary commission removed Stone and his supporters; Stone was in turn replaced by a Puritan council loyal to the English Commonwealth. Frustrated and without much recourse, Lord Baltimore ordered Stone to restore the proprietary government by any means necessary. After unsuccessfully attempting to compel areas in Anne Arundel County and Kent Island to consent to his authority, Stone hedged a desperate bet. Completely unable to resolve the crisis by either diplomacy or coercion, Stone decided, erroneously, to retake the colony by force. In March 1655, on the banks of the Severn River, Stone led a force of approximately 130 men against a Puritan militia led by William Fuller that included more than one hundred seasoned veterans of Oliver Cromwell's armies. Stone's rag-tag cavalier army was no match for Fuller's men, and the Puritan forces swept the field, losing only four from their ranks while slaughtering fifty of Stone's men. Stone, who was wounded in the shoulder, Josias Fendall, and ten high-ranking officials were arrested in the aftermath. Although Stone and Fendall were eventually spared, the Parliamentary commissioners executed four of Stone's men. The Puritans, having finally ousted the proprietary government, maintained a tenuous hold on the colony until 1657.²²

Shortly after Stone's defeat in March 1655, Richard Collett received news that he was banished from the colony for signing what was likely an anti-Puritan petition. The ruling, dated April 1655, reads:

Richard Collet being Convicted of a Scandalous offence against the Governmt by his Subscribint of a Petitiion of Dangerous Contnets and Consequence Shall be banished from this Province and give Security for his Good abearance to the present Governmt until he Shall give Notice unto mr Lawrence Ward in Virginia part of whose Estate the Said Collett doth Manage in Putuxent River to appoint another in his room and Shall have Six weeks time for that dispatch and pay 10001 of Tob: to the Publick if his Security be taken as Sufficent for his good abearance aforesaid he may stay till the 25th of December.

Collett was not the only casualty of the civil war between the Puritan commissioners and Governor Stone. William Evans was "Convicted of high offence against the Publick by a Subscription under his own hand to a petition" but eventually asked for mercy from the commissioners. As punishment, he was ordered to pay two thousand pounds of tobacco "towards the Publick damage occasioned in the late Warr raised by Capt Stone and his Complices." John Ashcombe confessed that "he was in Drink" which caused him, presumably, to write his name on a petition supporting Stone; like Evans, he was also fined two thousand pounds of tobacco. Ashcombe and Evans, and perhaps numerous others not listed in available records, acknowledged the legitimacy of the triumphant Parliamentary government and received leniency for their newfound loyalty. "The Petitioners of Putuxent are discharged from the Contents," the ruling stated, "and Damage thereof by an Act of favour past unto them by this Court upon the acknowledgment of their offence and free Submission to the Present Governmt." Collett, on the other hand, refused to recognize the authority of the new government and was banished from the colony, apparently for good.²³

The petition Collett signed has not survived, so it is impossible to know exactly how its "Dangerous Contnets" threatened the Parliamentary government. Why, then, was Richard Collett banished when others received only fines for signing petitions supporting Stone? The most likely answer is that Collett simply refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new government, especially since he owed much of his political life, however fleeting it was, to Stone and the Catholic proprietors. But other questions arise that are not easily answered. First, was he involved in Stone's failed rebellion? Did he author the petition? Or, did more sinister motivations lurk under the surface? Given Collett's checkered confessional past as an Anglican who supported the Crown, which made him an outcast first in his home country and then in his adopted country, it is compelling to imagine that Collett's second forced exile was as religious as it was political and that he was thus caught up in a larger transatlantic struggle between Anglicans, Puritans, Royalists, and Catholics that was far beyond his control.²⁴

Reinstatement

It is unclear where Collett went after he was banished or if he even left at all. One possibility is that he was able to call upon one of Virginia Ferrar's many New World correspondents and thus fled across the Chesapeake in search of sanctuary. What is certain, though, is that Collett was back in Maryland fifteen months later. After he had presumably left the colony, the new government, now under the control of Claiborne and Bennett, relocated from St. Mary's City to a Puritan stronghold in Calvert County between the Severn and Patuxent Rivers. In June 1656, Collett filed a letter of attorney on behalf of Thomas Connery, a small landholder who had migrated from Virginia to the Patuxent River region in 1652. Shortly thereafter, Collett presented another letter of attorney to the court on behalf of Captain Edward Streeter. Why did Richard Collett suddenly reappear in the Maryland after a forced exile, and why was he allowed to return to the colony and seemingly pick up where he left off as an attorney to local landholders?²⁵

There are two ways to think about Richard Collett's sudden reappearance before the court that had banished him in April 1655. The first possible but highly unlikely circumstance was that Collett gave in and recognized the new Puritan regime in order to regain not only his status as attorney to middling landholders but his own modest estate in Calvert County as well. The second, more likely, scenario is that Collett may have been aware of Lord Baltimore and Josias Fendall's attempts to regain control of the colony. After he was released from prison for his role in William Stone's disastrous rebellion, Fendall assumed "a pretended power from Capt William Stone to the great hindrance of the public affairs and to the distraction and Damage of the people" by openly provoking "the disturbance of the publick peace & Government." This was despite having taken an "oath" to submit to the new Puritan regime. Consequently, Fendall was forced to return to prison:

It is therefore ordered by this present Court that in regard the said Josias Fendall hath & Still doth give Just ground of Suspition of his dangerousness to the publick peace of this Province, if he Should enjoy his liberty, He the Said Josias Fendall Shall goe to the place from whence he Came a prisoner and there abide in safe Custody until the Matters of Governmt in the Province of Maryland Shall be further Settled and fully determined by his highness the Lord Protector of England and Councell of State upon a Legall hearing, To which also the Said Josias Fendall doth Consent in Court.²⁶

In 1657, Lord Baltimore regained control of his colony after he brokered a peace with Oliver Cromwell. With Edward Diggs serving as mediator, Baltimore negotiated an end to the "bloodshed & great distempers" that put his colony "in a very sad distracted & unsettled condition." In so doing, he struck a deal with Bennett, Claiborne, and their faction that allowed the Puritan commissioners, and anyone

who supported their government, to remain in Maryland "with all the same rights as they might have had if the said Controversies & differences had not hapned." To remain in Lord Baltimore's Maryland came with a stipulation, though: the Puritans had to support and uphold freedom of conscience outlined in the 1649 Act Concerning Religion. Indeed, Lord Baltimore maintained that he would "never give his assent to the repeale of a lawe established heertofore in Maryland" whereby "all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ have freedom of Conscience." Religious toleration, it seems, had returned to Maryland with the reinstatement of the proprietary authorities.²⁷

After regaining power from the Puritan commissioners, Lord Baltimore appointed Fendall to govern his colony. According to the governor and council proceedings, Fendall rose to this post "for the good cherishing and supporting of the good people and well affected, as for the punishment of the vicious and disorderly persons," namely the Puritan interlopers Bennett and Claiborne. Fendall was granted two thousand acres and was instructed by Lord Baltimore to restore the colony to *status quo ante bellum*. He also asked Fendall to enforce the 1649 Act Concerning Religion that the Puritan commissioners had abolished. At the end of his orders, the proprietor requested that Fendall consider men that continued to support the Proprietary party during the civil war for positions in the new government:

That they cherish & comfort in what they can all such persons as haue approved themselues faithful to his LoP and don good service in the late troubles there: that his LoPS said LieuT preferre those persons before any others to such places & employments of trust & profit as they may be respectively capeable of.

Although Richard Collett was not mentioned specifically by Lord Baltimore, the proprietor requested that all "who haue bin faithfull" would be gratified "in any thing that shall be reasonably desired." It was likely that Richard Collett was one of the men Lord Baltimore was referring to, or at the very least, Collett's service to the Proprietary party made him eligible for patronage under a general directive. Collett's return to Maryland, then, can be interpreted as compensation for remaining loyal to Baltimore and his government.²⁸

Murder

The years following the civil war were just as tumultuous for Richard Collett. After returning to the colony and its courts as an attorney, he benefited politically as a result of his loyalty to the Proprietary party. In addition to the letters of attorney he filed on behalf of small landholders between 1656 and 1663, in June 1661, Collett was appointed customs commissioner of Calvert County, a post he shared with Thomas Manning. He was also reappointed to his former position of high sheriff of Calvert County in 1663.²⁹

Collett's good fortune did not end there. After his return from forced exile, Elizabeth joined him. Once she decided to immigrate to the Chesapeake, Elizabeth joined a colony that had a number of women willing to make their voices heard, despite a long tradition of hegemonic masculinity that was so much a part of the early modern English world. Given that Richard had close ties to the Proprietary party, William Stone in particular, it is reasonable to speculate that Elizabeth became associated with Verlinda Stone, the former governor's politically astute wife.

Verlinda Stone was one of many women in seventeenth-century Maryland who operated with tremendous skill in the public sphere. During the tumultuous civil war, Verlinda emerged as an important political actor. While her husband languished as a prisoner of war for more than a month with a severe shoulder wound sustained in the disastrous Battle of the Severn, Verlinda shrewdly operated on both sides. On more than one occasion, she crossed into the Puritan stronghold to not only care for her gravely injured husband but to obtain vital intelligence that she relayed to Lord Baltimore, who in turn used it in peace talks with Cromwell. Indeed, according to historian Debra Meyers, Verlinda was an essential go-between, eventually helping the Lord Proprietor regain control of the colony in 1657 by supplying him with intelligence she gathered from the front lines during the civil war.³⁰

The two years following his reappointment as high sheriff of Calvert County saw Collett settling old scores for his friends and making new enemies. Between 1663 and 1665, Collett was caught in the middle of a lengthy dispute between some landowners and one of his negligent clients, Francis Riggs. Riggs apparently died in debt to several men—he owed Jerome White 1,450 pounds of tobacco, Jonathan Brown 5,647 pounds, and Andrew Skinner 2,000 pounds—and Collett was named executor of the estate. At the heart of the matter was Collett's outright refusal to pay Riggs's debt, much to the ire of White, Browne, and Skinner, who repeatedly petitioned the provincial court demanding Collett cough up the payments. After two years of near-constant bickering, Collett finally relented in October 1665 as the court ordered him to pay Skinner upwards of 5,000 pounds of tobacco.³¹

Collett also had a dangerous encounter in the spring of 1667 that reveals just how fragmented the colony's social structure still was and suggests a degree of heightened class antagonism, schisms that would erupt in the 1670s and create significant political fissures in the Chesapeake. According to provincial court records, Collett was serving a routine writ of attachment against Thomas and Phillis Howe, poor landholders who had arrived in the colony in 1653 as indentured servants. Thomas Bayley, a fellow landholder, had accused the Howes of stealing from him, and Collett was attempting to retrieve the property. After Collett confronted the pair, records indicate that they "did strike the said High Sherriffe" as he attempted a "returne of the said writt of Attachment." The attack seems to have been entirely unprovoked, not to mention unexpected, because evidence does not indicate that Collett abused his authority in this or any other case. The provincial court subsequently convicted

the Howes of assaulting Collett and sentenced them to "40 stripes on the bare back." While Thomas was forced to endure the punishment of repeated lashes in addition to paying Collett five hundred and forty pounds of tobacco, Phillis Howe's sentence was commuted "Upon the intercession of some persons" who informed the court that she was pregnant. Phillis Howe did not escape punishment entirely. Rather than being whipped alongside her husband, she was "tyed on the Contrary side of the said tree during the time her husband" received his "40 stripes."³²

After he had recovered from the assault, Collett resumed policing everyday life in Calvert County. His first order of business was to locate and return an indentured servant suspected of fleeing Thomas Brooke. "That Richard Collett doe forthwith take the said James Gul-Lum into safe Custody," the order stated, "to remaine until he shall satisfye his debts for which he lives undr Execuson." Less than a year later, Collett, now sixty-six years old, was once again the victim of assault, this time at the hands of his fellow Calvert County customs commissioner, Thomas Manning. Collett's suit against Manning, filed in February 1668, reveals few details about the incident or any sort of disagreement that led Manning to beat Collett. Prior to it, nothing seemed amiss. Collett, according to court records, was "officiating his office" when he was "struckt and beaten" by Manning, who was detained and "taken into the sheriffs Custody." When Manning appeared before the court to hear the charges against him, Collett was still reeling and thus unable to attend the hearing. Manning, so the story goes, appeared "accordingly" but the court had been "credibly inform'd that the said Richard Collett is uery sick and weak and not able to appeare [before] this Court to put in his Complaint against the said Mannyng." The wounds sustained were evidently too much for the aging Collett to bear, and he died sometime between February and June 1668.³³

Though Manning was arrested for striking Richard Collett, he was never formally prosecuted or even held accountable for the murder. The only punishment he received occurred during a session of the provincial Court. Meeting on February 14, 1668 at the "howse of Mr Richard Collett" (who could not travel due to the severity of his injuries), Manning received what amounted to a formal slap on the wrist. According to the court's proceedings, the oaths of William Meares and Ralph Wells were taken "agst Capt Thomas Mannyng for breaking the peace and striking the High sheriff of Caluert County." Court records are silent about how the case was resolved.³⁴

Why did Richard Collett's life end so violently? Who was Thomas Manning, and what led him to assault a fellow county commissioner? Did a long-standing political dispute exist between the two, or was Collett simply the victim of an irascible, ill-tempered man? Born in Norwich, the largest city in Norfolk in the East of England, to John and Hester Manning, Thomas was baptized at St. Andrew's Parish in February 1624/5. He eventually followed his older brother, John, to Cambridge, matriculating to Peterhouse at only fifteen years old in 1640, and switching to Corpus Christi College, where he received a B.A. in 1643/4. Manning emigrated to Virginia in the early

1650s and settled on 150 acres in Warwick County. While in Virginia, Manning had a political career that mirrored Richard Collett's in Maryland, serving as an attorney to local landowners and merchants before receiving an appointment as sheriff of Nansemond County in June 1657.³⁵

Manning moved to Maryland from Virginia in 1658 with his wife, two sons, and eight servants and was recognized immediately by the proprietary government as a gentleman. After settling in Calvert County, Manning set about increasing the size of his estate. In April 1661, he acquired six hundred acres that he named "Thepbush Manning," and two years later, in February 1663, he appeared in the records of the provincial court to secure the transfer "of a Certain Tract of Land Lying uppon the Cliffts in Caluert County." In September 1663, Manning obtained three hundred additional acres, which he called "The Goare," a patent that made him neighbors with Richard Bennett, the Parliamentary commissioner and one of the conspirators in the Maryland civil war. By 1664, Manning had added an additional 1,700 acres to his Calvert County holdings and was, by any estimation, a wealthy man.³⁶

Manning arrived in Maryland after the re-establishment of proprietary authority and, realizing that a political vacuum existed, quickly sought out political patronage. Indeed, prior to murdering Richard Collett, Manning had what could be described as a distinguished legal and political career. He was commissioned a captain of the colonial militia in 1660 and served as a steward for the St. Clements Manor court in 1661. Between 1660 and 1663, he served as Maryland's attorney general, and it was during this time, first in 1661, that he became a delegate for Calvert County, a position he held, off and on, until the sitting of the 1669 proprietary Assembly. Between 1661 and 1667, Manning served as a justice in Calvert County. In 1665, he received an appointment as a sheriff in Calvert County, either serving alongside or working directly under Richard Collett. It is possible, though not verifiable, that the two men had a long-standing rivalry for political patronage, or even land, as they seemed to jostle between various middling positions in the Calvert County government.³⁷

Evidence does suggest that Manning's assault on Collett may have been politically motivated. Collett was not only a strong supporter of Lord Baltimore, Governor Stone, and the Proprietary party in Maryland, but he also opposed the Parliamentarians, first during the English Civil War while in residence at Little Gidding and then in the immediate aftermath of the hostile takeover of the colony by Bennett and Claiborne. Thomas Manning, on the other hand, seems to have been aligned with the Parliamentarians. In April 1654, while still residing in Virginia, Manning was an attorney of record in a case involving the sloop *Golden Lion*, a ship bound for Amsterdam carrying thousands of pounds of tobacco that was seized in February 1651/2 by three English ships loyal to the crown. Several Virginia planters, including many who professed to be "well affected to the Parliament" and had expressed "dislike of the enemies standing against them," brought a suit to the Admiralty Court seeking

compensation for their seized tobacco that had been supported by none other than Richard Bennett and William Claiborne. Although it is certainly possible that Manning disinterestedly represented the aggrieved merchants in this case and was thus able to keep politics separate from his duties as an attorney, that was highly unlikely, especially in the political tinder box that was the mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake. It is reasonable to argue that Thomas Manning had at least been nominally supportive of the Puritan Parliamentarians while residing in Virginia, and that those political sympathies migrated with him to Calvert County in 1658.³⁸

Court records indicate that Richard Collett was, at the very least, the victim of a violent man allowed to roam the countryside because of his political connections. There is no evidence that prior to Collett's murder Manning was involved in any altercations, but an incident less than two years after Collett's death provides a glimpse into his sadistic tendencies. According to a somber statement presented to the Maryland Chancery Court in August 1669 by William Dorrington, a Quaker merchant and substantial land-owner who served as a justice of the peace in Calvert County, Manning raped Dorrington's twelve-year-old daughter Sarah in June 1669. The attack occurred less than a month after Manning had completed his term as the Speaker of the Lower House. Dorrington spoke to the court on behalf of his daughter, who was still alive at the time of the hearing, although she eventually died from wounds sustained during the assault:

Caecilius absolute Lord and Prop.rY of the Provinces of maryland & avaolon Lord Baron of Baltemore &c To the Sheriff of Calvert Co.tY Greeting William Dorrington of Calvert County af.d Gent has Supplicated us on the behalf of Sarah Dorrington his Daughter & an Infant under age to wit of the age of 12 years ag.t Thomas' Manning of the Same County Gent that Whereas the Said Thomas Manning did about the 20th day of July last past by force of Armes assault would beat & Evil Intreat the Said Sarah Dorrington & doth still threaten to assault would beat & Evil Intreat her So that the Said W.m Dorrington is afraid for her life or Loss of Limbs We willing to provid for the Security of the Said Sarah.³⁹

What is even more perplexing about this case is that Manning and Dorrington, similar to the incident between Manning and Collett, were acquaintances, at least superficially. Like Collett, Dorrington was a fellow political appointee in Calvert County at the time Manning attacked his daughter. But the relationship between Manning and Dorrington moved beyond the Calvert County courthouse, as the two seemed to have entered into a business venture. In 1664, Manning and Dorrington indicated to the provincial court that they intended to travel to New England together, though the proceedings are silent about why they wanted to do so. Sarah Dorrington's case, then, seems to be the second time that Manning got away with murder. Records do

reveal that Manning was charged with assault, but he does not seem to have been prosecuted, perhaps because he had died by 1670, thus depriving both families of their day in court. Sarah Dorrington, like Richard Collett before her, died without any justice being done in a colony that was straining to keep itself together. At the very least, Manning's political career ended after his assault on Sarah Dorrington, and he languished in Calvert County at his plantation "uppon the Cliffts" until his death in March 1670.⁴⁰

Thomas Manning's murder of Richard Collett and the rape and murder of Sarah Dorrington speak to the inability or utter reluctance of the colony's courts to punish men of power and means when they committed vicious crimes. Manning got away with murder twice without so much as being reprimanded and died a wealthy and powerful man. After he passed away in March 1670, his estate was probated in Calvert County and was valued at 54,007 pounds of tobacco, which included five servants on a plantation of nearly three thousand acres. Manning was not the only powerful man in the colony to get away with murder, though. As historian Lois Green Carr tells us, in September 1656, three months after Collett's sudden reappearance in Maryland following his forced exile, a wealthy merchant and justice in St. Mary's County, Simon Oversee, murdered a slave named Antonio by whipping him repeatedly with pear tree branches, pouring hot lard upon his back, and finally hanging him from a tall ladder with leather wrapped around his wrists. Oversee, like Manning after him, was not punished for his crime by Maryland's provincial court, which may have been reluctant to convict in a case that had racial overtones. Men such as Manning and Oversee, then, remained public servants and even prospered despite their crimes, perhaps due to the dearth of qualified men to fill positions in the county and colonial governments.⁴¹

Elizabeth Collett's Maryland

After Richard's death, Elizabeth Collett did her best to move forward. Since the couple did not appear to have had children, Elizabeth was named the executrix and sole legatee of Richard's two-hundred-acre estate, meager though it may have been. Despite the lack of an heir, recent scholarship suggests that broad social, political, and indeed religious expectations would have led Richard to name Elizabeth his executrix, even if they had children. Due to their identity as High Anglicans, once in Maryland the Colletts would have been part of a broad confessional coalition that Meyers has termed "Free Will Christians"—Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics—as opposed to what she calls "Predestinarians," represented by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Puritans. In her research, Meyers traces specific tendencies in the two groups' inheritance practices: Predestinarian testators, by and large, bequeathed real and actual property to their sons while the Free Will Christians, which would have included the Colletts, often named wives as the sole recipient. In many cases, then, women testators possessed a great deal of power in public and

in the household by forming sprawling kinship networks that connected families across multiple marriages.⁴²

What happened to Elizabeth following Richard's death? Although she likely sought to move on with her life by re-marrying, the fate of her eventual suitor, a merchant and lawyer by the name of Christopher Rousby, eerily resembled what had happened to Richard. Rousby arrived in Maryland in 1666 with his brother and nine indentured servants. By 1668, Rousby had established himself as a merchant in Calvert County, and by 1669 he apparently had impressed enough of the right people to receive an appointment as the county sheriff, succeeding Richard Collett. It was in 1669, the year he took over Richard Collett's patrol on the Maryland frontier, that he married Elizabeth. It was this local appointment that catapulted Christopher Rousby's political career which, like Richard Collett's before him, would end in tragedy.

After marrying Rousby, Elizabeth made a sudden, vocal appearance in the colony's court records. In December 1669, nearly a year after Richard's death, Elizabeth was part of a group of women who intervened in court on behalf of a woman accused of infanticide. The proceedings of the provincial court maintained that Joane Colledge, a "Spinster being great with Child," used "force and armes and of her malice before thought" against the baby girl, which had been born out of wedlock. To that end, the court ruled that Colledge "did kill . . . the said female Child" thus disrupting "the peace of his said Lordshipp his rule and dignity." Colledge pleaded not guilty and "Putt herself upon the Country." Upon hearing the guilty verdict, she broke down in tears and "humbly begg'd the mercy of the Court," a desperate plea that failed to sway the court, which delivered a death sentence. "That the said Joane Colledge should return from the place from whence she came," it read in part, "and from thence to the place of execution and there to hang by the neck till she be dead." At this point, Joane Colledge had little hope for mercy. The next day, though, Elizabeth Collett Rousby, Mary Keene, Ellinor Smith, Ann Dorrington, Mary Larkin, Grace Parker, Mary Williams, "and sundry other persons" stormed the court in what must have been a dramatic scene. Once inside the building, the women "exhibited to the Court on the behalf of the said Joane Colledge a Petition for the suspending of the execution" until her case could be presented to Lord Baltimore for a potential pardon. Their petition evidently worked. "The Court Ordered that the Prisoner Joane Colledge should be reprieved till the eighteenth day of October next." Joane's ultimate fate remains a mystery. Although she did receive a year's reprieve, she does not appear in subsequent court documents and her name is not listed among the men and women pardoned by Governor Charles Calvert.⁴³

While Elizabeth used her voice in the public sphere to help others, Christopher was using his to run afoul of men in power. In 1676, he received an imperial appointment as a tax collector on the Patuxent River, a position he held until 1684. As a collector of taxes on tobacco, Rousby answered to London customs commissioners—not the Assembly in Maryland or Lord Baltimore. Rousby did have a foot in the

proprietary door at the same time, though, representing Calvert County in the Lower House of the Assembly between 1676 and 1678. It was during his time as a member of the colonial assembly that he openly criticized the Proprietary party, apparently calling Lord Baltimore a traitor to his face. Lord Baltimore attempted, unsuccessfully, to remove Rousby from his position as customs collector and referred to him as an "insolvent and knavish collector" and the "most lewd debauched swearing and most profane fellow in the whole government and indeed not fit to be admitted into civil society." Fearing the loss of his position, not to mention a stain upon his reputation, Rousby returned to London in order to defend himself. After his triumphal return to Maryland, his name effectively cleared and his job as tax collector still on the books, Rousby found himself in yet another scrape. This time he would not fare as well. In October 1684, while aboard the royal patrol boat *Quaker*, Rousby quarreled with a recently arrived passenger, George Talbot, who just so happened to be the proprietor's cousin. After several vocal disagreements no doubt made worse by a night of heavy drinking, Talbot fatally stabbed Rousby in the chest.⁴⁴

It is not clear whether Elizabeth Collett Rousby was still alive to endure yet another tragedy. She was not named in Rousby's will, leading to speculation that she had indeed passed away. Had Elizabeth been alive, though, she would have experienced yet another injustice. Like Richard Collett's death at the hands of Thomas Manning, Christopher Rousby's killer was not punished in any sort of meaningful way. George Talbot was eventually imprisoned in Virginia to await trial, but he would not be there long. Much to the surprise of officials in Virginia and Maryland, Talbot's wife hatched an audacious plot and broke him out of jail. The Talbots absconded, leading to a manhunt that lasted for months. Eventually, Talbot turned himself over to Maryland authorities and was found guilty of murdering Christopher Rousby. He was sentenced to death, yet his story does not end in an execution. In an ironic twist, the man who murdered Elizabeth's second husband received the very same punishment Richard had received years earlier for publicly criticizing the hostile Puritan takeover of Maryland. Two and a half years after the trial, George Talbot was pardoned, and in exchange for his life he was banished. He was so grateful for this intervention that he "humbly prayed" to the court "that the sd pardon might be read" aloud, in Latin, and recorded.⁴⁵

The story of seventeenth-century Maryland was, in many ways, Richard Collett's story. Reared in a community founded by failed colonizers, Richard Collett was a casualty of the fissures that threatened to tear apart the nascent British Empire in the mid-seventeenth century. Collett sailed for the Chesapeake for two reasons. First, he likely hoped to flee the violence of the English Civil Wars that he had witnessed firsthand for much of his adult life, and second, court records reveal him to be an aspirant colonizer, perhaps looking to succeed where his uncles Nicholas and John Ferrar had failed. And although he may have been an altogether unimpressive contemporary and historical figure, Collett's life was touched by a number of monumental

political events in England and the New World. As an Anglican-Royalist deeply affected by the transatlantic civil war that devastated both colony and metropole, Collett lived through and indeed participated in these epoch-making events. What is remarkable about Richard Collett's life, fleeting though it may have been, is that he relocated to a colony remembered for religious toleration and extreme demographic and political instability, and once there, found himself buffeted about by religious and political forces. Yet, rather than dying from malaria or on the battlefield on behalf of a contemporary political *cause célèbre*, like many of his fellow Marylanders did, he was instead murdered by a landholder and ostensible rival, though it is not clear why. Whether it was his forced exiles due to his contested confessional politics or his death at the hands of a violent landholder, Richard Collett's life on the run represents just how unstable the British Atlantic was in the mid-seventeenth century. And despite his efforts to bring stability to his jurisdiction in Calvert County, clashes between powerful political forces would continue to play out and remain unresolved for many years after his lonesome death.

NOTES

1. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137-138, Judicial and Testametary Business of the Provincial Court, 1649/50-1657, William Hand Browne, et al., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 10:414. [Hereinafter *Arch. Md.*]. Lois Green Carr argues that despite continuing unrest in seventeenth-century Maryland, local institutions such as informal community networks and local government provided stabilizing forces. See Lois Green Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 44-70. Much of the work on Maryland politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries takes a top-down approach. See Lois Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Susan Rosenfeld Falb, *Advice and Assent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689* (New York: Garland, 1986); Falb, "Proxy Voting in Early Maryland Assemblies," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (1978): 217-25; Ronald Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500-1782* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Jordan, "'God's Candle within Government': Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982): 628-54; Jordan, "John Coode, Perennial Rebel," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1975): 1-28; Russell R. Menard, "Maryland's Time of Troubles: Sources of Political Disorder in Early St. Mary's," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 124-40.
2. Antoinette Patricia Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke: Politics and Political Culture in Maryland, 1630-1690 (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2008), 6, 11.
3. Kate E. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited: The Ferrar Family of Little Gidding, c. 1625-1637," Ph.D. diss., University of Western Australia, 2007; J. F. M. Carter and Thomas Thellusson Carter, *Nicholas Ferrar; His Household and His Friends* (London; New York: Longmans, Green, 1980), Nicholas Ferrar and Bernard Blackstone, *The Ferrar Papers; Containing a Life of Nicholas Ferrar; the Winding-Sheet, an Ascetic Dialogue; a Collection of Short Moral*

- Histories; a Selection of Family Letters* (Cambridge, U.K.: University Press, 1938), "Heroines of Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 15 (1906): 40, A. L. Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1980). I was able to establish Richard Collett's early kinship network through two means: one, the genealogical tree found in the *Ferrar Papers*, which lists Richard as one of John and Susanna's sons; second, by consulting the Collett genealogical files found at rootsweb.com. For recent work on the Little Gidding community, see Carmen Ortiz Henley, "The Women of Little Gidding: The First Anglican Nuns," Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 2012; Joyce Ransome, *The Web of Friendship: Nicholas Ferrar and Little Gidding* (Cambridge, U.K.: James Clarke & Co., 2011); Ransome, "George Herbert, Nicholas Ferrar, and the 'Pious Works' of Little Gidding," *George Herbert Journal*, 31 (2009): 1–19; Ransome, "Voluntary Anglicanism: The Contribution of Little Gidding," *Seventeenth Century*, 24 (2009): 52–73.
4. For girls' boarding schools in early modern England, see Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion, and Education in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 131–41; Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 119–20; Ferrar, John, Virginia Farrer, John Goddard, and John Overton, *A Mapp of Virginia Discovered to Ye Hills, and in It's Latt. from 35 Deg. & 1/2 Neer Florida to 41 Deg. Bounds of New England* (London, 1667); quote by Fuller in P. J. M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding: History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 27.
 5. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 220; Muir & White, p. 79; Margaret Aston, "Moving Pictures: Foxe's Martyrs and Little Gidding," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Elanor F. Shevlin, eds. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 83, 90; D. R. Ransome, "John Ferrar of Little Gidding," *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 3 (2000): 22.
 6. A. L. Maycock, *Chronicles of Little Gidding* (London: SPCK, 1954), 64, 65; John Ferrar to his son, n.d., *The Ferrar Papers*, 302; Maycock, *Chronicles of Little Gidding*, 65.
 7. Maycock, *Chronicles of Little Gidding*, 58, 68; Kate E. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 220. The severity of the damage, or even if the property was ransacked at all, has recently come under question. Riley points out in a footnote that "recently, D. R. Ransome has disputed the long-held assumption that Little Gidding church was ransacked by Cromwellian soldiers in 1646," pointing readers to "the website of Little Gidding Church for details." Ransome traces the legend of the Puritan sacking to "Peckard's *Life of Nicholas Ferrar* published in 1790 . . . on the basis of his scanning previous manuscripts and some of the thousands of letters in the Ferrar papers which he had inherited from his father-in-law, Edward Ferrar II." Ransome goes on to say that a "closer examination of the Ferrar papers, with the absence of any reference to this event," has led him to conclude that "it did not happen." See "Alleged ransacking—an update," <http://www.littlegiddingchurch.org.uk/lgchtmlfiles/detailfiles/lgcpopuptextpage1.html> (accessed July 28, 2014); D. R. Ransome, "John Ferrar of Little Gidding," 16–29.
 8. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 96–97; Anon, *The Arminian Nunnery* (London, 1641).
 9. Michael Lloyd Ferrar, quoted in H. P. K. Skipton, *Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1907), 184, 185. See also Lynette R. Muir and John A. White, eds., *Materials for the Life of Nicholas Ferrar: A Reconstruction of John Ferrar's Account of His Brother's Life Based on All the Surviving Copies* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1996), 60; Ransome, "John Ferrar of Little Gidding," 22.
 10. Gust Skordas, John M. Brewer, and Arthur Trader, eds., *The Early Settlers of Maryland; an Index to Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633–1680, in the*

Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1968), 99. For more on Richard Collett's arrival and the death of his father, see William Ryley and others, *The Visitation of Middlesex, Began in the Year 1663* (London: Privately printed for Joseph Foster, 1887), 89; Recorded in Patents, Liber 4, folio 549, in Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, 99; There are two Elizabeth Colletts listed in Skordas's compiled list of early Maryland immigrants. See Liber 5, folio 607 or Liber 6, folio 293, in Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, 99; Russell R. Menard, "Population, Economy, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 72. For a table that lists the disparity between men and women in detail, see Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 194.

11. Lois G. Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 34 (1977): 546, 547. See also Menard, "Population, Economy, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," 71-72, E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (New York: McGraw, 1969), and Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974).

12. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Maryland," 220-21.

13. John E. Douglass, "Between Pettifoggers and Professionals: Pleadors and Practitioners and the Beginnings of the Legal Profession in Colonial Maryland, 1634-1731," *American Journal of Legal History*, 39 (1995): esp. 360-62; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B MSA S11-2, folio 564, *Arch. Md.*, 10:356; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B MSA S11-2, folio 564-566, *Arch. Md.* 10:356-58; Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 1069-01, 12, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives [MSA]; Men's Career Files, MSA SC 4082, folio 01, 28, 29, Special Collections, MSA. For debt in colonial Maryland, see Tommy R. Thompson, "Debtors, Creditors, and the General Assembly in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 59-77.

14. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber B, 1637-1657, MSA S1071-2, folio 615, *Arch. Md.*, 3:308; Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 48; Stephen Bordley to Hercules Coutts, December 11, 1756, Letterbook of Stephen Bordley, 1756-59, MS 81, 22-24, Maryland Historical Society, quoted in Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 70; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Liber R, MSA S1071-7/8, folio 289, *Arch. Md.*, 17:62. For more examples of sheriffs abusing their power, see Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 51.15. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669 MSA S1071-5, folio 77, *Arch. Md.*, 3:394; Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669 MSA S1071-5, folio 169, *Arch. Md.*, 3:473; Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber BB, 1663-1669, folio 23, *Arch. Md.*, 49:23.

16. Women's Career Files, MSA SC 4040, folio 1327-1, Special Collections, MSA; Women's Career Files, MSA SC 4040, folio 1327-3, Special Collections, MSA. For discussion of material culture and economic growth in early Maryland, see Lorena S. Walsh and Paul G. E. Clemens, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643-1777," *Journal of Economic History*, 43 (1983): 109-17; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Wealth and Welfare in Early Maryland: Evidence from St. Mary's County," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 56 (1999): 95-120; Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena Seebach Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991); Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore from Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca: Cornell University

Press, 1980); Alan Kulikoff, "The Economic Growth of the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Colonie," *Journal of Economic History*, 29 (1979): 282-88.

17. See Matthew Page Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins; D. Appleton-Century, 1933), Susan Rosenfeld Falb, "Advice and Ascent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1976), Michael James Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634-1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1983), Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981), Robert D. Mitchell, "American Origins and Regional Institutions: The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73, no. 3 (1983). For a discussion of the Calvert's struggle to obtain, and then defend, their colonial charter, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chap. 1. For the disparity between the Catholic colonizers and the actual settlement, John D. Krugler, "The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 274. For the desire to attract wealthy young noblemen, see Gary Wheeler Stone, "Manorial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 5.

18. Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 53-56; Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chaps. 1-3. For Stone's commission, see Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber CB, 1637-1657, folio 168-197, MSA S1071-1, *Arch. Md.*, 3:201-11. Stone was born in England in 1603 and emigrated to Virginia prior to his thirtieth birthday. He was forty-five years old when he was appointed as the first Protestant governor of Maryland. He served as a vestryman in Accomoc County in 1635 and was appointed as sheriff of Northampton County in 1646. He was the nephew of the London haberdasher Thomas Stone. See Bernard C. Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 24 (Baltimore, 1906), 102. Steiner estimates that the congregation invited by Stone was around 500 settlers. See Steiner, *Maryland Under the Commonwealth: A Chronicle of the Years 1649-1658*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 29, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1911), 10. For a discussion on the Act Concerning Religion, see Krugler, "The Calvert Vision," 280-81.

19. On the question of Catholic loyalty, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chap. 1 and Maxine N. Lurie, "Theory and Practice: Toleration in the Seventeenth Century: The Proprietary Colonies as a Case Study," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 117. For more on religion in colonial Maryland, see John D. Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland During the Early Catholic Years, 1634-1649," *Catholic Historical Review*, 65 (1979), Krugler, "'With Promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634-1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984); Krugler, "The Calvert Family, Catholicism and Court Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England," *The Historian*, 43 (1981): 378-92; Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Krugler, "The Face of a Protestant and the Heart of a Papist: A Reexamination of Sir George Calvert's Conversion to Roman Catholicism," *Journal of Church and State*, 20 (1978): 507-31; Krugler, "'Our Trusty and Well Beloved Councillor': The Parliamentary Career of Sir George Calvert, 1609-1649," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 470-97; R. J. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 491-511; Matthew Page Andrews, "Separation of Church and State in Maryland," *Catholic Historical Review*, 21 (1935): 164-76; Carl N. Everstine, "Maryland's Toleration Act: An Appraisal," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 99-116; Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "Church and State in the Maryland Ordinance of 1639," *Church History*, 26 (1957): 325-41; Hanley, *Their Rights and Liberties: The Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland*

(Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1984); David W. Jordan, "The Miracle of this Age: Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649-1689," *Historian*, 47 (1985): 338-59; Edward F. Terrar, "Was There a Separation of Church and State in Mid-Seventeenth Century England and Colonial Maryland?" *Journal of Church and State*, 35 (1993): 61-82.

20. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber CB, 1637-1657, folio 168, MSA S1071-1, *Arch. Md.*, 3:201; Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*, 102, n1. For discussion of the Puritan migration to Maryland, see Steiner, *Maryland Under the Commonwealth*; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland, 1658-1661," *Quaker History*, 53 (1964): 67-80; Krugler, "The Calvert Vision"; Carr, "Sources of Political Stability"; Krugler, "With Promise of Liberty in Religion"; Lurie, "Theory and Practice of Religious Toleration in the Seventeenth-Century"; Daniel R. Randall, *A Puritan Colony in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 6 (Baltimore, 1886).

21. Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 53-56; Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," 54-61.

22. The men executed by order of a Puritan court-martial were William Eltonhead, Captain William Lewis, John Legatt, and Julius Pedro. For an overview of this period, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," 170-84; Charles Francis Stein, *A History of Calvert County, Maryland* (Baltimore, Md.: Published by the Author in Co-operation with the Calvert County Historical Society, 1976); Steiner, "Maryland Under the Commonwealth"; Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*; Randall, "A Puritan Colony in Maryland"; Carl N. Everstine, "The Establishment of Legislative Power in Maryland," *Maryland Law Review*, 12 (1951); Ethan Allen, *Maryland Toleration: Or, Sketches of the Early History of Maryland, to the Year 1650* (Baltimore, 1855); Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland"; Susan Rosenfeld Falb, "Advice and Ascent"; Land, *Colonial Maryland*, esp. 33-56. For more on tension in the 1640s and 1650s, see Alfred P. Dennis, "Lord Baltimore's Struggle with the Jesuits, 1634-1649," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1900*, vol. 1 (Washington, 1901), 107-25.

23. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137-138, Judicial and Testametary Business of the Provincial Court, 1649/50-1657, *Arch. Md.* 10:414; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137, *Arch. Md.*, 10:413; *Ibid*; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 137, *Arch. Md.*, 10:414; *ibid*. For more examples of how the new regime cracked down on dissidents, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," p. 182.

24. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137-138, Judicial and Testametary Business of the Provincial Court, 1649/50-1657, *Arch. Md.*, 10:414.

25. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 189, *Arch. Md.*, 10:449; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 223, *Arch. Md.*, 10:469. For Connery, see Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094-892-07, Special Collections, MSA.

26. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 158, *Arch. Md.*, 10:427; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S1071-5 folio 158, *Arch. Md.*, 10:426-28.

27. "Lord Baltimore's Treaty with the Virginians," 1657, Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1657-1660, Liber HH, folio 10-12, Maryland Hall of Records 3823.

28. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669, MSA S1071-5, folio 6, *Arch. Md.*, 3:323. For a discussion of Fendall's term in office, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chap. 8; Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669, MSA S1071-5, folio 4, *Arch. Md.*, 3:326.

29. Fendall served as governor of Maryland from 1656-1660, with Philip Calvert assuming control in 1660 and holding the office until 1682. For a list of governors from 1634 to 1704,

see Edward C. Papenfuse, *Archives of Maryland: Historical List, New Series*, MSA. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656–1669, MSA S1071-5, folio 108, *Arch. Md.*, 3:424. For instances of Collett sitting as a commissioner of the Calvert County court, see Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber BB, 1664, MSA S552, folio 327, *Arch. Md.*, 49:271; Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber FF, MSA S552, folio 276, 1666, *Arch. Md.*, 57:72. The other men also appointed as commissioners of Calvert County were Thomas Spriggue, Thomas Trueman, Thomas Brookes, George Peake, Francis Anketill, Hugh Stanley, Charles Brooke, John Elzy, Toby Norton, Thomas Letchworth, Benjamin Brassier, and William Turner. For Thomas Manning, see Men's Career File, MSA SC 5094, folio 2763-1, Special Collections, MSA. For a mention of Manning as a delegate, see Stein, *A History of Calvert County*, 42.

30. Debra Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free Will Christian Women in Colonial Maryland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 29, 177–78.

31. For more on the long, drawn-out case involving Collett on behalf of Francis Riggs from 1663 to 1665, see *Arch. Md.*, 49:195, 199, 208, 217–18, 223, 224, 228–29, 236, 249–50, 301, 303, 329–30, 356–58, 425–26, and 478–81.

32. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975); Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 2124-01, 10, Special Collections, MSA; Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 490, 1667, *Arch. Md.*, 57:198, 199.

33. Provincial Court Proceedings, 1667, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 492, 1667, *Arch. Md.*, 57:200; *ibid.*, 1667/8, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 545–546, *Arch. Md.*, 57:244; *ibid.*, Liber JJ, MSA S552, folio 464, *Arch. Md.*, 57:607.

34. Provincial Court Proceedings, 1667/8, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 540, *Arch. Md.*, 57:250, 251.

35. Parish Register, St. Andrew's, Norwich, PD 165/1(S), Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, Norfolk, U.K.; for Manning's matriculation to Cambridge, see John Venn and John Archibald Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, part 1, v. 3 (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1924), 136; Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, vol. 1 (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1992), 209, 356; for Manning's appointment as sheriff, see H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, 2nd ed. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1979), 505. For a recent genealogical summary of Manning's life in the Chesapeake, see James B. White, "Thomas Manning of Calvert County, Maryland," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 46 (2005): 461–78.

36. For Thepbush Manning, see Patent Record AB and H, 1661, Calvert County Circuit Court Land Survey, MSA S1583, Maryland State Archives, 261; for the tract of land he called "upon the Cliffs," Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1663–1666, Land Records, Liber BB, MSA S552-2/3, *Arch. Md.*, 49:126–127; for "The Goare," see Provincial Court Judgment Record, 1679–1684, Liber WC, MSA S551-8, *Arch. Md.*, 70:304, 306; for the additional land patents, see *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, eds. Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 2:571.

37. Manning sat as a burgess in the Lower House in 1661, 1662, and 1669. See *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:571; Recorded in Patents, Liber Q, folio 317, in Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, 303; Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 2765-01, Special Collections, MSA.

38. Peter Wilson Coldham, *English Adventurers and Emigrants, 1609–1660* (Baltimore: Ge-

nealogical Publishing Company, 1984), 133, 134–38; Beverly Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1988), 3:467; White, “Thomas Manning of Calvert County, Maryland,” 465–66.

39. Proceedings of the Court of Chancery, 1669, Liber CD, MSA S517, folio 530, *Arch. Md.*, 51:332. See also Men’s Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 1173-01, Special Collections, MSA. Manning is listed as the Speaker of the Lower House in *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:25.

40. Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber BB, 1664–65, folio 504, *Arch. Md.*, 49:414. For additional biographical details on Manning, see *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:571–72. For Manning’s will, see Men’s Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 2763-01, Special Collections, MSA; White, “Thomas Manning of Calvert County, Maryland,” 467–68.

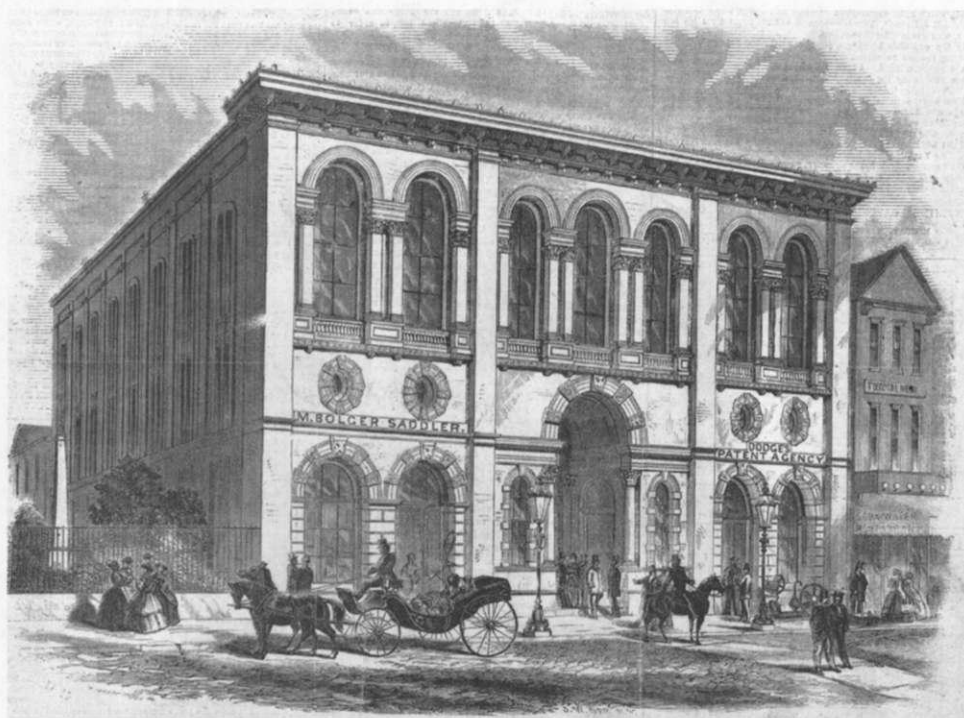
41. Provincial Court Proceedings, 1658–1662, *Arch. Md.*, 41:205; Lois Green Carr, “Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland,” 50; *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:571–72.

42. Women’s Career Files, MSA SC 4040, MSA; Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives*, 4–5, 128–55. For women as centers in a kinship network that formed as a result of multiple marriages, see Carr and Walsh, “The Planter’s Wife,” 542–71. Scholars have located other women that possessed significant power in the public sphere in colonial North America. See, for example, Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 262–67; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 35–38; Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 10–11, 15, 93–95; Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 10–14, 359–99.

43. Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1666–1670, Liber JJ, MSA S551-3/4, *Arch. Md.*, 57:598–99; see also J. Hall Pleasants, ed., “Introduction,” to vol. 57, pp. xxiv, xxvi; Women’s Career Files, MSA SC 4040-1327, MSA. See also Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 238–39 and Norton, “Gender, Crime, and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland,” in *The Transformation of Early American History: Society, Authority, and Ideology*, James A. Henretta, Michael G. Kammen, Stanley Nider Katz, eds. (New York: Knopf, 1991), 147.

44. Antoinette Sutto, “‘You Dog . . . Give Me Your Hand’: Lord Baltimore and the Death of Christopher Rousby,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 102 (2007): 240–42, 244–45, 250; *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 1:27, 2:704-5.

45. Meyer, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives*, 177; Appendix to Council Proceedings, 1671–1686, MSA S1071-7/8, *Arch. Md.*, 17:480–83.



The South Carolina Institute, site of the 1860 Democratic National Convention. (Library of Congress.)

Maryland's Presidential Election of 1860

CHARLES W. MITCHELL

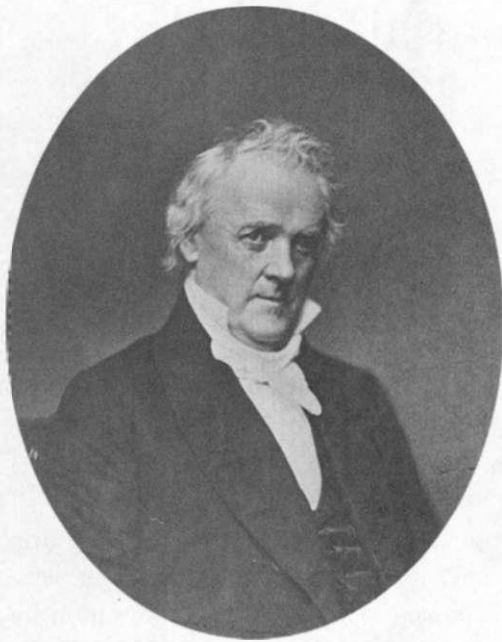
On Wednesday, April 18, 1860, the steamer *S. R. Spaulding* left Baltimore for Charleston, South Carolina. Those on board enjoyed music from Gilmore's band and loud cheering from those gathered to see them off. "For the alimentary comfort of those on board, she is supplied with 4,500 pounds of fresh meat and poultry, and has besides 23 tons of ice," noted the *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*.¹

The national Democratic Party was gathering in Charleston to write its platform and nominate its candidate for president, and among the *Spaulding's* passengers were Maryland delegates en route to what would be a momentous political convention, for in this steamy, southern city the issues would be defined and the battle lines drawn over one of the most momentous elections in American history.

Washington, D.C., was engulfed in turmoil. Incumbent Democrat James Buchanan, battered by sectional tensions and charges of corruption in his administration, could hardly wait to leave Washington for the bucolic peace of his Pennsylvania farm. The Congress was divided into camps of northern and southern men who were literally at each other's throats. On April 5, Congressmen John F. Potter of Wisconsin and Roger Pryor of Virginia came close to blows on the floor of the House. Four days later they agreed to a duel—Bowie knives being the weapon of choice—but when cooler heads prevailed, a duel was averted.

Delegate-laden trains and steamers arriving in Charleston were full of talk about Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the most powerful figure in the Democratic Party. In Charleston, wrote one historian, "the southern delegates were at home; the city was theirs, doors were open, tables were spread, many were spared the discomforts of hotel fare in the lavender-drenched guest rooms of these wide-porched mansions. The most charming spot . . . is the Battery. . . . In the pleasant evenings the people of leisure congregate here; hundreds of carriages and buggies, full of ladies and gentlemen, whirl along the drives."² The night before the convention opened, Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial* wrote, "there has been a great deal more drunkenness here today than heretofore. Most of the violent spreeing is done by roughs from the Northern Atlantic cities who are at last making their appear-

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James Buchanan (1791–1868), fifteenth president of the United States. (Library of Congress.)

ance. There have been a number of specimens of drunken rowdyism and imbecility about the hotels. And I hear, as I write, a company of brawlers in the street making night hideous.”³

As the convention opened on April 23, the steamy air at close to one hundred degrees made all, particularly the overdressed northerners, uncomfortable, but the heat was but one element of discomfiture. The disintegration of the Whig Party during the previous decade, largely over slavery, was a fate not lost on the 303 Democratic delegates from thirty-two states who filed into Institute Hall on Meeting Street for the opening ceremonies. These men were gathering to address problems that politics could no longer solve. Many realized that leaving Charleston without uniting behind a nominee would likely mean a Republican president, secession, and possibly war.

Many, however, were optimistic that they would unite behind Stephen Douglas, the “Little Giant” and former judge who stood barely five feet tall, United States Senator from Illinois, sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its doctrine of popular sovereignty.⁴ He commanded support from at least half of the delegates at the start of the convention, mostly from the northwest and New England, but he had to muster two-thirds of the delegate votes to secure the nomination—and he had to do so in the face of imposing forces converging to stop him. These included President Buchanan and the U.S. Senator from Mississippi and former secretary of war Jefferson Davis. Douglas’s highest hurdle, though, would be a former Alabama congressman, William Yancey, and other southern nationalists, who had pledged to fight his nomination to the bitter end.

Slavery was, of course, the divisive issue. Leading Republicans such as Senator

William Henry Seward from New York and lawyer and former Illinois congressman Abraham Lincoln were pledging not to interfere with slavery *where it existed*, but if elected they would not allow its spread into the territories likely to become new states. Few northern delegates had had firsthand contact with the peculiar institution, and for many their visit to Charleston afforded their first look at real slaves and real masters. Near the meeting site loomed the "Workhouse," a jail where obstreperous slaves were beaten, the double walls filled with sand to muffle their screams.

Douglas had cast himself as spokesman for the new Northwest, those territories of the American Midwest that in the middle of the nineteenth century lay on the frontier seeking entry into the Union. His doctrine of popular sovereignty—in which the territories themselves could choose to be free or slave—especially angered the South. The Little Giant's straddle over slavery in the territories had by this time become a painful stretch. Douglas's troubles had begun six years earlier in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and they worsened in Charleston when his managers agreed to finalize the party's platform before a nominee was chosen—a tactical misstep given the platform's failure to include a ban on federal interference with slavery in the territories. Douglas's relationships with the southerners were poor; he was detested by extremists and distrusted by moderates. In the month preceding the convention, several state Democratic parties had instructed their delegates to walk out if the party's platform lacked federal protection for slavery in the territories. An ugly tone was set the first day, when a Pennsylvania delegate attempting to speak was driven from the floor by cries of "God damn you, sit down!" and "What the hell do you want to talk for?"⁵

But frivolity was in the air as well. By Wednesday, the *Baltimore Sun* reported, "the gallery was crowded with ladies, and it being filled, several hundred who were crowding outside, unable to enter the gallery, were admitted to the floor of the convention, occasioning much good feeling." Delegate Charles Walker of New York informed the ladies that his fellow New York delegate, John Cochrane, was a bachelor, following which the latter "acknowledged his desperate condition and expressed his willingness to enter into the marriage relation. Walker said it was apparent that the reason why Cochrane had not married was because he could not. . . . the Chair tolerated this nonsense for a time, but at last interposed and summarily shut down upon it." The convention floor was packed, for "those who have tickets send them out after they get in, and others come in," complained one delegate. John S. Robinson, the chairman of the Vermont delegation, it was announced, died of apoplexy. And the credentials committee, adjudicating contested seats in four states, ruled in favor of the sitting delegates, allowing F. M. Landham and Robert J. Brent, of Maryland's Fourth Congressional district, to claim their seats.⁶

By Friday, the fifth day of the convention, wind and rain had dispelled the heat, and Charleston's bars, gamblers, and pickpockets were doing a bang-up business. The platform committee presented three reports: the majority report called for federal



A fierce opponent of Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, Alabama's William Lowndes Yancey (1814–1863), became a strong proponent of secession. (Library of Congress.)

protection of slavery on the high seas and in the states and territories, the acquisition of Cuba, and construction of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific. On Sunday, the Ohio and Kentucky delegations discovered that their private whiskey stocks, to which they attributed their good health, had run dry.⁷

On Monday, April 30, with Douglas's chances ever more perilous, Baltimoreans read of the Sunday goings-on in Charleston: "There have been three fights within 24 hours. Two of the Ohio delegates threw plates at each other at the Mills House, and one drew a pistol while the other clinched. Col. Craig, of Missouri, and a newspaper reporter also had a rough and tumble fight at the Mills House, and Captain Levy and Mr. White have also had a fight in a bar-room." One Pennsylvania delegate attacked another over his refusal to sign a document instructing the Pennsylvania delegates how to vote. Chaos on the convention floor rivaled that in the streets and taverns. As various points of order were being discussed, amid deafening noise,

Mr. [William S.] Gittings of Md. attempted to address the chair but was called to order . . . (he) renewed the motion to lay on the table . . . a voice cried out, "Mr. President, it is a mistake—I didn't second that man's motion down there." Mr. Gittings rose to demand an explanation. He would like to know who it was who spoke so disrespectfully of him. . . . Mr. (Tom) Hooper arose. He did not say anything disrespectful to the gentleman from Maryland. . . . Mr. Gittings replied that if no insult was intended, "the gentleman will call at my room and take a drink."⁸



"Meeting of Southern Seceders," April 1860. A week into the Democratic convention, fifty southern Democrats walked out amid cheers from the galleries and reconvened at St. Andrew's Hall in Charleston. (Library of Congress.)

By April 30 most of the northern spectators in the gallery had left, their rooming contracts and patience having ended. Their departure made hotel hallways navigable, barrooms accessible and—most important—filled the Institute Hall gallery with Charlestonians, whose applause for the southern, anti-Douglas oratory was deafening. The gentlemen in the gallery were asked to refrain from using the heads of the men below them as spittoons. That same day the Douglas forces successfully rammed their platform through the convention by a slim margin, displacing the majority report.⁹ There would be no Democratic Party commitment to federal protection for slavery. Fifty delegates from the lower South then walked out, to the cheering of much of Charleston's high society.¹⁰ As they left, delegate Robert Brent of Maryland presciently warned them that their actions would lead to a Republican president opposed to slavery—presumably Seward—and a Congress of similar views.

Any remaining Douglas hopes were dashed by the balloting rule handed down by Chairman Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts: Two-thirds of the ballots of the total number of delegates accredited to the convention would be required for nomination, rather than merely two-thirds of those present.¹¹ Douglas would still need 202 votes—and he almost surely would not get them from the 250 delegates who remained.

The Boston Brass Band opened business on May 2 with "a dozen spirited airs." Maryland delegate William Gittings said he would move, after the thirty-fifth ballot, that the convention reassemble in Baltimore in June: "Mr. G. assured the convention that Baltimore was no longer a Plug Ugly town and promised the delegates a hospitable welcome," reported a local paper, referring to one of the city's most notorious political gangs known for terrorizing its streets on election days. By the morning of May 3, it was plain that the convention was hopelessly deadlocked. The noise levels from the galleries diminished considerably—"the ladies' gallery is very thin, and the poor creatures look down into the hall, vainly seeking objects of interest," wrote one reporter. The convention adjourned, its ten-day effort for naught, and agreed to reconvene in June in Baltimore. Disillusioned delegates boarded train cars, steamers, and carriages to depart Charleston for home.¹²

As the Democrats retreated, two other political parties were in states of great excitement. As the Republicans prepared to open their second nominating convention, in Chicago, the first such convention of the Constitutional Union Party opened in Baltimore at noon on May 9, 1860. The latter occasion was marked by a parade that packed the streets and showed off the city's new steam fire engines. The delegates represented twenty-two states and met in a federal courthouse formerly occupied by the First Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fayette and North Streets. The old church had an illustrious political history, for Andrew Jackson had been nominated there in 1828, and Martin Van Buren in 1836. There were galleries on three sides and "gas fixtures . . . in the event that the convention may sit at night." In attendance were approximately seven hundred aged white males, described by Murat Halstead as "of the eminently respectable class of gentlemen—and most of them are somewhat stale in politics. . . . The delegates seemed to be in high spirits, and to be confident of their ability to make at least a powerful diversion. The general foolishness of the two great parties has given the third unusual animation."¹³ Many of these gentlemen were former Whigs and anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant American Party "Know Nothings" who hailed from the Border States. Distressed by the escalating rhetoric pushing the nation toward division and war, they sought a middle ground, proposing that North and South could remain together if slavery were off the table as a national issue, and all men merely pledged fealty to the constitution.

This effort toward a middle course was led by the venerable, seventy-three-year-old Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, who had assembled fifty members of Congress unaffiliated with Republicans and Democrats to lead the initiative.¹⁴ The party's fundamental principles were "the removal of the slavery question from party politics, development of national resources, maintenance of honorable peace with all nations, strict enforcement of the laws and the powers of the Constitution, and respect for state rights and reverence for the Union."¹⁵ Skeptics questioned the viability of a party with such moderate principles in a time when people were moving to the extremes of the political spectrum. The *New York Herald* described the

convention as a "Great Gathering of Fossil Know Nothings"—but these men were convinced they were on a path to save the Union.¹⁶

When Senator Crittenden opened the convention at noon on May 9, he "was received with applause from the galleries, and the ladies, who occupied the west gallery, waved their handkerchiefs."¹⁷ Murat Halstead, who would cover all four major nominating conventions in this election year, reported:

The Convention insisted on applauding nearly every sentence, and several times refused to let [the Chairman] finish a sentence. It was worse than the applause given by an Irish audience at an archbishop's lecture. . . . during the first hour and a half of the session, I presume at least one hundred rounds of applause were given, and the more the "spreads" applauded, the greater became their zeal. . . . The moment a speaker would say *Constitution . . . Union, American . . .* or anything of the sort, he had to pause for some time until the general rapture would discharge itself by stamping, clapping hands, rattling canes, etc.¹⁸

Though early signs pointed to a ticket of Sam Houston of Texas and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, John Bell of Tennessee won the nomination on the second ballot—a disappointment to the Baltimore ladies, who fancied the dashing Houston and showered the platform with bouquets from the galleries.¹⁹ Bell was a safe choice, a bland and uninspiring lawyer of considerable wealth and owner of eighty slaves and an impressive resumé: state legislator, congressman, Speaker of the House, secretary of war, and U.S. Senator. Maryland awarded 7.5 votes to Bell and half a vote to Houston on both ballots.²⁰ Reflecting the party's stance on slavery, mere mention of it at the convention was prohibited, and when a Pennsylvania delegate did so, he was loudly hissed.²¹

This amiable gathering had little of the sectional bitterness that had earlier destroyed the Whig Party and was threatening the Democrats with the same fate. Baltimore lawyer Brantz Mayer proclaimed slavery a false issue, men's disagreements over it "as harmless and hollow as ghosts manufactured out of sheets and pumpkin."²² These men believed their middle ground would attract enough votes to deprive the major parties of outright victory and send the election to the House of Representatives. But this party's fundamental principles—glorifying the Constitution and Union and enforcing its laws—were little more than platitudes, unlikely to animate an electorate aroused by the more passionate appeals of other parties.

On June 15 and 16, between six and eight thousand people—delegates, press and hangers-on, more than had been in Charleston—poured into Baltimore for the next round of the Democratic convention. The city had staged every national Democratic nominating assembly between 1832 and 1852. Many state delegations brought their own bands. "During Saturday Barnum's Hotel, the Eutaw House, and the other hotels, received their delegations and guests," reported the *Baltimore*



Brantz Mayer (1809–1879), was a prominent nineteenth-century Baltimore lawyer, writer, and historian. (Maryland Historical Society.)

American & Commercial Advertiser, “and in the afternoon the rotundas, halls and parlors, presented a scene seldom witnessed, blocked as they were with baggage, and filled with the strangers in their linen dusters, too busy aiding to swell the political hubbub and hum of voices, to change their travelling apparel.” The paper engaged “two of the most accurate and expert Phonographers of Washington city, with a full corps of assistants, to furnish us with a *verbatim* report of the proceedings,” and then endorsed the Constitutional Union Party: “We will fight on their side . . . and engage to confine Mr. Lincoln to his original occupation of mauling rails.”²³

On Sunday evening, bands attached to various delegations drew several thousand spectators to Monument Square, on Calvert Street, for what one newspaper called “airs in the square.” While the early demeanor of the crowd seemed to favor Douglas, reactions to speeches that lasted until midnight revealed deeper anti-Douglas sentiment, a harbinger that this second effort might also fail to unite the party. The southerners, egged on by fire-eating orators such as Alabama’s William Yancey, were determined to reargue the slave code, and many northern men remained just as determined to fight them on it.²⁴

Though the southerners had met in Richmond the week before, they chose to take no action until the convention reconvened in Baltimore, where they planned to be as disruptive as they’d been in Charleston. Their delegations, other than Florida’s, were intent on claiming the seats they had vacated in Charleston, and as most southern states had since chosen new delegates, refereeing the fight over those seats would be the first order of business.²⁵

On Monday morning, June 18, 303 delegates and almost two hundred editors and reporters filed into the Front Street Theater at 10 A.M. to open the convention. The

Baltimore galleries were with Douglas all the way. Much work had been done to the theater, which, reported the *Baltimore Sun*, featured "a rich and beautiful scenery to relieve the heaviness of the unplastered walls." The dress circle had been designated as the gallery for the ladies, who were to be admitted free. Reports circulated that the free tickets distributed at Barnum's Hotel were being scalped for between two and five dollars. The delegates got down to business with a speech by Chairman Caleb Cushing reminding them that they were in Baltimore to decide the fate of the seats of delegates who had bolted in Charleston, finalize a platform and, choose a presidential nominee. At the outset tensions seemed to abate, per the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*:

the prospect of a solution of the difficulties . . . appeared last evening to be a shade better. The prominent men of both sides were more inclined to talk calmly over the prospects of the party, and while the firmness of neither section appeared to be in the least shaken, there seemed to be a more lively appreciation of the madness of disunion on the question of candidates.²⁶

As the credentials committee began sorting out the contested seats in the southern delegations, other pressing matters arose. Delegate Willard Salisbury Sr., of Delaware, addressed the chair on the matter of tickets, which had apparently been infected by counterfeits: "Some of my delegation are outside and cannot get into the hall," he complained. "They wish tickets; cannot get tickets, and do not know who issues tickets to this Convention. I would like the chair to indicate by what authority tickets are issued, and how delegates will gain admission to the floor of this Convention." The *Baltimore Sun* reported the humorous exchange when Salisbury was asked to speak up: "Mr. President, allow me to say to the gentleman from Delaware that he is now speaking from the stage of a theatre, and it is important that he should face those in the rear, and address them, and not the chair, if he desires to be heard." Salisbury responded, "I wish to say to the gentleman . . . that I am not a theatre man. I never attended a theatre ten times in my life." Came the reply: "Well, you are making your debut then, and we want to hear what you say!"²⁷

Six hours of debate exhorted the delegates either to restore the seceders to their seats or reject their attempts to return and rally around the party's eventual nominee. Maryland delegate Bradley Johnson of Frederick objected to the behavior of the spectators: "As a delegate from Maryland I ask that representatives of this State may be cleared from the imputation cast upon them by the disorder in the gallery. Those joining in the disorder there are not the people of Baltimore. I ask of the Chair that the galleries may be cleared." Johnson was loudly shouted down. Three more hours of oratory entertained those on Monument Square that evening, as supporters of both Senator Douglas and William Yancey screamed at, and over, one another. The next day, as the delegates adjourned, they were greeted by heavy thunderstorms that

curtailed speeches and prompted brisk sales of pro- and anti-Douglas umbrellas.²⁸ But the political climate seemed more favorable to Douglas, with even hints of some southern support.

Convention business was conducted away from the theater floor. Baltimorean Reverdy Johnson, the former Maryland U.S. senator and attorney general who had diligently worked for Douglas in Charleston, hosted supporters in his home on Monument Square, whose balcony provided a platform for evening speeches throughout the week. At Gilmore House, just opposite the square, were the headquarters of the southern Democrats. Rival speakers, bands, and crowds thronged the square, which "packed fuel beneath the already boiling cauldron." On the evening of June 19, rockets were discharged from the windows of the Douglas men. The nighttime noise from the large crowds outside Douglas headquarters was exceeded only by that emanating from the southern headquarters across the square. Tempers rose with the heat of early summer, and fisticuffs erupted on the convention floor between two men from the rival Arkansas delegations. One slapped the other and drew a pistol from his pantaloons, "and a duel [was] only avoided after a series of notes were exchanged according to the custom of the times." Two Delaware delegates fought at five o'clock in the morning when one, a member of Congress, attacked the other in the hall of the Maltby House as he staggered sleepily to the washroom.²⁹

This was the first political convention with telegraph wires in place for instant reporting, and rumors flew across the nation. One held that another southern walkout was imminent; another that Douglas was poised to withdraw.³⁰ Early on the fourth day, "a tremendous crash was heard in the centre of the building, occupied by the New York and Pennsylvania delegations. Delegates rushed in masses to the windows, and climbed, nimbly as monkeys, over the chairs of the reporters seeking, according to appearances, to place themselves under the protection of the president." A section of floor had collapsed, and though no one was injured and the damage was minor, the episode seemed ominous. A recess was called so the floor could be repaired, and despite the inevitable jokes about the party's weak platform, few gleaned much symbolism from its reconstruction.³¹

When the credentials committee presented its majority report, specifying which of the former and current delegations would be seated, events took a dark turn. The southerners were still demanding the federal protection for slavery denied them in Charleston, their credo in Baltimore being "rule or ruin," wrote Georgia congressman Alexander Stephens, soon to be vice president of the Confederacy. Their threat was not empty: If delegates from the upper South refused to join them, they would bolt and form a new party.³²

The mood grew ugly. During an argument over tickets on the fourth day, delegate William Montgomery of Pennsylvania made a disparaging remark about his fellow delegate Josiah Randall, whose son then assaulted Montgomery, "inflicting several severe blows in the face, causing the blood to flow profusely." Montgomery knocked

young Randall down, after which spectators separated them. On Monument Square that night, bands drowned out opposing orators, and the *Sun* described how the "pro-Douglas Keystone Club band of Philadelphia came marching down the centre of the Square, through the mass of people, throwing rockets and bombs to open their way. . . . When nearly in front of the Gilmor House the cry of 'Put them back,' 'Take their instruments,' was raised, and in a moment a surging wave of humanity swept upon the band, knocking their instruments right and left, and blows were struck promiscuously. The police were in the midst of the melee, and struggled manfully to restore order and arrest the ringleaders of the disturbance, but the density of the crowd rendered their removal absolutely impossible."³³

The next day, Friday, June 22, the Douglas majority report—lacking federal protection for slavery—passed by a wide margin. Delegate Charles Russell of Virginia announced his state's withdrawal from the convention. Ignoring pleas about the perils of another party split, the Virginians "rose in a body, and passing into the aisles, proceeded to leave the theatre, shaking hands and bidding personal friends good-by, as they retired," reported Murat Halstad. Next went most delegates from the upper South and a few proslavery men from the North.³⁴ Speeches predicting dire consequences were issued amid great disorder. One hundred and five men walked, more than a third of the total, including most of the delegates from the Deep South and North Carolina, California, Oregon, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation, because, they said, so many others had withdrawn. Nine of the sixteen Maryland delegates joined them.

Ohio Governor David Tod was chosen to preside as chair over the remaining 198 delegates. He immediately recognized the call to vote before more delegates left, in "the din of an indescribable confusion. There were partial responses from some . . . which could hardly be heard, and the Convention seemed rapidly becoming a roaring mob." On the second ballot Douglas received 181.5 votes, with eighteen going to various others. At last the Little Giant had the prize, and the vote was then made unanimous. All decorum evaporated in the commotion that greeted his nomination. The convention recessed until the evening to choose the party's nominee for vice president, an honor awarded to a delegation from the South whose members had not walked out. Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick from Alabama was chosen on the first ballot, though when he later declined, Georgia governor Herschel Johnson was selected.³⁵

The bolting Maryland delegates had joined their anti-Douglas brethren at Market Hall on Baltimore Street, home of the Maryland Institute for Mechanical Arts, where the southern men were now calling themselves the National Democratic Convention. This venue accommodated 8,000 people, and its galleries were full when their convention opened at noon the next day. Marylanders E. F. Hardcastle and William P. Bowie were chosen as secretary and vice president, respectively. Tremendous applause greeted the arrival of convention chair Caleb Cushing. Wil-

liam Yancey "glowed with satisfaction," and "[Henry T.] Garnett, of Virginia, whose countenance is usually grave as Don Quixote's, seemed pleased as a schoolboy with new boots." One delegate thanked the Almighty for now being able to speak without being hissed and not having to listen to nauseating speeches.³⁶ Vice President John Breckinridge was quickly nominated for president, and Oregon's Senator Joseph Lane for vice president.³⁷ The original majority platform from Charleston, which included protection of slavery in the territories, was adopted. The affair, despite its theatrical antecedents, ended quietly after one day.

John Contee, a bolting Maryland delegate from Buena Vista, published an open letter on June 25, explaining that he had tried faithfully to honor his obligation as a delegate, and that Caleb Cushing's participation as chair had legitimized the southern meeting as the true National Democratic Convention. He urged his fellow citizens to support the Breckinridge and Lane ticket. The next day, the *Baltimore Sun* announced its support for Stephen Douglas as the legitimate nominee of the Democratic Party. A week later, Lt. Col. Robert Edward Lee, Acting Commander of the Department of Texas, United States Army, wrote to a friend: "The papers will give you news of the Baltimore convention. If Judge Douglas would now withdraw and join himself and party to aid in the election of Breckinridge, he might retrieve himself before the country and Lincoln be defeated. Politicians I fear are too selfish to become martyrs."³⁸

After the South Carolina legislature had passed resolutions late in 1859 affirming their state's right to secede and suggesting that slave states meet to consider measures for "united action," Governor William Gist had sent the resolutions to Maryland governor Thomas Hicks, requesting he submit them to the Maryland legislature. Hicks had replied that he would "cheerfully comply" but suggested that Marylanders were not likely to join with South Carolina.³⁹ He then uttered one sentence that critics have used, unjustly, to tar him as disloyal: "We also respectfully, but earnestly, desire to assure our brethren of South Carolina, that should the hour ever arrive when the Union must be dissolved, Maryland will cast her lot with her sister states of the South"—a pledge the Maryland legislature would refuse to honor after the war broke out, and a statement inconsistent with Hicks's sustained and public support for the Union.⁴⁰

DESPITE ITS YOUTH, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY was poised to capitalize on widespread fear and anxiety in the country, and in 1860 it was better organized and more unified than its rivals. Senator William Henry Seward seemed the front-runner for the nomination in the newly constructed Wigwam in Chicago, where the Republicans gathered on May 16 in the first convention site to have a press box for reporters. Abraham Lincoln's managers, however, believed that Seward's antislavery stance would cost him the key northern states and thus the election. Their strategy—to position Lincoln as the perfect antidote to the tension between the sections and the

widespread anger over the massive corruption in the Buchanan administration—worked beautifully, for Seward's support began to evaporate after the first ballot. Lincoln was nominated on the third—thanks to the skills of his managers, his standing as a former Whig from a vital industrial state, and because he had fewer enemies than his better-known rivals: Seward, Ohio governor Salmon P. Chase, and former congressman Edward Bates of Missouri—all of whom would serve in Lincoln's first cabinet. Murat Halstead described the cacophonous reaction in the Wigwam when Howard Judd nominated Lincoln: "The uproar was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, a score of big steam whistles going, and you conceive something of the same nature."⁴¹

The pragmatic Lincoln articulated the rationale behind his nomination: "My name is new in the field; and I suppose I am not the *first* choice of a very great many," he wrote to Samuel Galloway in March. "Our policy, then, is to give no offense to others—leave them in a mood to come to us, if they shall be compelled to give up their first love." He was certainly not the first choice of an irate New England man, who complained that "you fellows at Chicago . . . knew that above everything else these times demanded a statesman, and you have gone and given us a *rail splitter*." Lincoln was further described in the *Charleston Mercury* as a "horrid-looking wretch . . . sooty and scoundrelly . . . a cross between the nutmeg dealer, the horse swapper, and the nightman." Even William Herndon, his law partner, volunteered that Lincoln's coarse black hair "lay floating where fingers or wind left it."⁴²

The Republican convention in Chicago, though unable to compete with the fisticuffs of the Democrats, was not without its farcical elements. On the first day considerable discussion was devoted to an invitation from the Chicago Board of Trade for a delegates' boating excursion on Lake Michigan. Allegations of counterfeit tickets flew. Seward's handlers engaged a professional boxer to round up vocal supporters for him. The chair of the convention tried unsuccessfully to prevent Maryland's eleven delegates from voting, on grounds that the state had never had a Republican Party. More serious was the argument that erupted over the omission of the statement of equality ("that all men are created equal") from the 1856 party platform, though wise veterans of the antislavery wars, led by Ohio congressman Joshua Giddings, restored it.⁴³

The Republican Party's "rail-splitter" image of Lincoln as a symbol of strength and American fortitude presented a sharp contrast with its portrait of southern aristocrats who grew rich off the backs of slaves. While adhering to the custom of the day by not campaigning publicly himself, Lincoln delved into campaign reports from journalists and party members in key states, wrote hundreds of letters to allies, and successfully refereed a fight between party leaders in Pennsylvania, a state essential to a Republican victory in November. He paid his respects to Senator Seward at the Springfield train station as Seward passed through en route to Chicago. State and county-wide meetings to "ratify" the ticket of Abraham Lincoln and

vice-presidential candidate Hannibal Hamlin of Maine became effective vehicles for recruiting eager supporters who organized parades, barbecues and clubs—the latter giving the Republicans a presence in new areas, especially in lower north and border states. The more ambitious clubs raised money for the party's local candidates as well as for themselves and exuded a quasi-military character, marching by torchlight in oilcloth caps and capes that glistened from the kerosene dripping from their torches. They became known as "Wide-Awakes," and they lent the Republican campaign an aura of intrigue. Democrats, scrambling to counter them, started clubs called "Chloroformers," whose goal was to put the "Wide-Awakes" to sleep, but their efforts gained little traction.⁴⁴

The Republicans labored to position themselves as the party of reform, committed to honest government and a democratic capitalism wedded to free labor and economic growth. Under their leadership the growing nation would enjoy a vital infrastructure of new canals, navigable harbors, and railroads that would drive commerce. Farmers and working men—especially foreign-born—were promised easily available farmland, underscoring the Republican Party's interest in westward expansion. Perhaps most important, their antislavery vision—aimed particularly at Protestants who disliked slavery, including many newly arrived German immigrants—sprang from the words of the founding fathers and the egalitarian principles enumerated in the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln himself was portrayed as a conservative, a pious Christian, and the perfect candidate for Unionist voters—especially in the lower north—who disliked slavery but also strident abolitionism.

Republican campaigners worked especially hard to secure the four key states the party had lost in 1856—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. State and local Republican operatives took full advantage of their party's hundreds of newspapers; in Ohio alone the party had more than 120 of them. One historian estimated that Republicans made approximately 50,000 speeches during the campaign. In keeping with tradition, candidate biographies were quickly published and widely distributed, including eighteen of Lincoln. The Republicans clearly recognized the opportunity handed them by the Democratic Party's disarray. Political kingmaker Thurlow Weed of New York wrote Lincoln in June that "the madness which precedes destruction has come at last upon our opponents."⁴⁵

Breckinridge's southern Democrats and Bell's Constitutional Unionists ran uninspiring campaigns. Neither challenged the Republican characterization of Lincoln as a pious Protestant, nor did they illuminate for voters the party's anti-Catholic sentiments, manifested by antipathy toward immigrants and the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁶ The Breckinridge men devoted considerable resources to attacking Douglas, though the two joined forces to spread the scurrilous rumor that Lincoln's running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, had black ancestry. For their part, Republicans lampooned the Constitutional Unionists as "Bell Ringers" and "Do Nothings." Several key Bell allies in the South found themselves drawn into the turbulent waters of slavery and,

rather than hewing to the party line of neutrality on the issue, endorsed constitutional protection for it, thereby driving some northern supporters to switch to Lincoln.

Douglas's mercurial temperament generated much intrigue in his campaign. His brilliant political mind, fueled by copious amounts of alcohol, drove a self-portrayal as the only candidate whose election could prevent a southern secession. Douglas reverted to a tactic used against Lincoln in their 1858 U.S. Senate race, accusing the Republicans of seeking not only freedom but equality for blacks—a potentially damning accusation at a time when even many abolitionists did not accept racial equality. His campaign tried to portray Lincoln as a coarse man—a Douglas paper in Springfield, Illinois, noted that “his qualifications for side-splitting are quite as good as for rail-splitting . . . but neither vocation is supposed to be carried out extensively in the white house.” In July, when Douglas broke with the tradition of the times to campaign publicly (becoming the first presidential candidate to do so nationally), he attempted to disguise the purpose of his speaking tour as wishing to visit his mother and the grave of his father, and to attend the Harvard graduation of his brother-in-law. The Republican response mocked Douglas's short stature by posting handbills seeking “A Boy Lost”: “The lost boy is about 5 feet nothing in height and answers the same in diameter the other way.”⁴⁷

Douglas recognized that the impressive Republican triumphs in battleground state elections in pivotal states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana in October meant that a Lincoln victory in November was likely. Douglas conceded the race, donned a statesman's mantle and announced that he would stump through the South to sound the alarm of an impending *coup d'état* by the southern states. “Mr. Lincoln is the next President,” he said. “We must try to save the Union. I will go South.” And so he did, attacking secession with his deft and inimitable elegance, before large crowds in North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, where he endured a hail of boos, eggs, and tomatoes. In the spring of 1861, just weeks before he died, Douglas would confess that he “had leaned too far to the Southern section of the Union,” in his efforts at appeasement.⁴⁸

Douglas's warnings of secession in the wake of a Lincoln victory, and his race-baiting of the Republicans, forced the latter party to establish a clear political identity for their candidate. Lincoln's history as a Whig and acolyte of U.S. Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky (whose long advocacy of internal improvements that would drive economic growth resonated especially well in the northern industrial states), and the Republican portrayal of the Democrats as corrupt were powerful campaign issues. But calibrating Lincoln's message on the explosive slavery issue required great care and nuance. Lincoln's conviction that he would neither interfere with slavery where it existed, nor allow it to expand, was well known; his task was to convince voters that he did not advocate black equality without alienating the party's vocal anti-slavery constituency. The solution was not attacking slavery as an institution but slaveholders themselves, portraying them as entitled aristocrats who sipped mint juleps on their

verandas while clinging to feudal agrarian ideals and professing disdain for industrial growth. This strategy took on the character of a class war, the message targeted at the "pro-slavery Democracy" and aimed at multiple Republican constituencies.

The Republican coalition of old-line Whigs, Protestants, nativists, and immigrants carried Abraham Lincoln to a resounding victory in November of 1860. He won the electoral vote decisively, taking every free state but New Jersey, where he still won some electoral votes—an impressive feat considering that voters in many southern states had no Republican/Lincoln ballots with which to vote (parties at that time printed and distributed their own ballots). He won every county in New England; with 152 electoral votes needed to win, he racked up a total of 180. Although Lincoln won only 39.8 percent of the popular vote nationally—still a record for the winner of a U.S. presidential election—he won 54 percent of votes cast in the north. Douglas placed second in the overall popular vote but won only New Jersey and Missouri, for a total of twelve electoral votes, finishing dead last by that all-important measure. Breckinridge finished third in the popular vote and second in the electoral vote, with 72.

The election reinforced the sectional polarization of the nation over slavery—58 percent of the national popular vote went for either Lincoln or John Breckinridge, who to many voters represented the two extremes on the issue. John Bell's Constitutional Union party failed to resonate with northern voters; in only three northern states did he garner more than 3 percent of the popular vote. Bell did carry the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, and his home state of Tennessee, and he ran a strong second in Maryland, where he won 39 electoral votes. But the election of 1860 meant far more than the end of the Constitutional Unionists; it set in motion the final cataclysmic series of events that would bring down slavery in the United States. The South had suffered through a terrible drought that summer, a harbinger of the horrors that secession and four years of civil war would inflict on its people, now that a divided nation had essentially decided the slavery issue in favor of the North.

The Republicans, knowing that Maryland would not be low-hanging fruit, quickly put in place damage-control measures. They tried unsuccessfully to mobilize German support and to prevent their opponents from forming tickets in the state. Maryland leaders such as Montgomery Blair—he of the distinguished Blair family and its estate, Silver Spring—attempted to reassure Marylanders that Republicans, true to Lincoln's promise, would not ban slavery in the state—choosing instead to stress topics sure to resonate with the business community, such as Baltimore's growing strength as a commercial center. But little came of the Lincoln campaign's efforts in Maryland. Parading Wide-Awakes were showered with eggs and bricks and endured the residue of burning cayenne sticks, that nineteenth-century version of tear gas. In late October, a parade of several hundred Baltimore Republicans led to a near riot, with the marchers pelted with eggs, stones, and garbage: "Wonderful to relate there was no one killed and no one badly beaten," reported one city newspaper.⁴⁹

The Douglas Democrats could not shake the yoke of their nominee's popular sovereignty doctrine, and they were undermined by the better organized Breckinridge men, who got their men onto local political committees. Despite speeches in September by Douglas himself in Frederick—where he was feted by “roar of cannon”—and in Baltimore, his campaign's failure to forge an alliance with the Constitutional Unionists had doomed any chance of a strong Douglas showing in Maryland. The Constitutional Unionist message of fealty to Union and Constitution, all else be damned, resonated well in Maryland—despite its trite campaign slogan, “Our Bell rings to the sound of Union. Try it.”⁵⁰

Breckinridge pulled in more than 39,500 Maryland votes (45.7 percent), which gave him all eight of Maryland's electoral votes. Bell ran a close second with 38,750 votes (45.2 percent), while Douglas finished a distant third with 5,700 votes (6.5 percent). Lincoln, who finished fourth in Maryland, won 2,249 votes (2.5 percent) and in seven counties received no votes whatsoever. His election was poorly received in counties in southern Maryland and on the eastern shore, where slaves still worked plantation soil depleted of nutrients from two centuries of relentless tobacco cultivation. Men in the Charles County town of Beantown passed a resolution requesting that anyone who had voted for Lincoln leave the county by January 1. The *Baltimore Sun's* post-election editorial spoke volumes: “As we cannot offer to the readers of *The Sun* one word of congratulation on so inauspicious a result, we are disposed to do no more than announce the fact this morning.” Even loyal Unionists were on edge in the spring following Lincoln's inauguration. In March 1861, Hester A. Davis, the wife of Montgomery County planter Allen Bowie Davis, wrote to her daughter, Rebecca: “To my mind we are living in the World's Saturday night, that you and perhaps I will witness most extraordinary and unlooked for changes in the aspect of things, perhaps the entire abolition of slavery . . . many in our state helpless, unarmed, and entirely surrounded by troops, at the risk of having Baltimore sacked and burned . . . I fear this secession element. It would be certain to ruin all *our hopes as a family* in this world.”⁵¹

The results of the 1860 election in Maryland were striking nonetheless: A sound majority—54.2 percent—of Maryland ballots were cast for one of three Unionist candidates; Breckinridge's plurality of just under 46 percent endorsed neither disunion nor secession. Many Marylanders saw no contradiction in the simultaneous embrace of Unionism and slavery, and as would be the case throughout most of the Civil War years, many planters remained loyal as long as the constitution of their state sanctioned ownership of slaves and, in tandem with the federal Fugitive Slave Law, thereby offered protection for their business and property interests. The outcome of the election in Maryland, the antipathy of the state's voters for Abraham Lincoln notwithstanding, contradicts the traditional narrative of Maryland as a Confederate state-in-waiting. Marylanders remained faithful to the idea of Union, for more than half their ballots were cast for the three men who believed as they did.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, April 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 19, 1860. The latter spelled the band's name "Gilmor."
2. Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1948), 291; William B. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), 40–41.
3. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 18. Charleston hotels and rooming houses were looking forward to a lucrative week. The price for a parlor and bedroom suite in a top hotel was approximately \$75 per day, and a state delegation paid \$100 per day to stay at St. Andrews Hall. Meals were extra: breakfast was \$1.00, supper and dinner, \$1.50 each (see *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860).
4. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed residents of those territories to choose whether they would be free or slave. It became a rallying cry for the doctrine of popular sovereignty, whose chief proponent was Douglas. The act overrode the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in either territory.
5. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War 1859–1861* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860; Nichols, *Disruption*, 295; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 23.
6. *Baltimore Sun*, April 26, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 33–34, 37, 39; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 26, 1860. William D. Bowie was chosen vice president and Levin Wolford secretary of the Maryland delegation. The death of John S. Robinson, the Vermont delegate, is reported in *Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, convened at Charleston, S.C., April 23, 1860* (Washington: Thomas McGill, Printer, 1860), 14. Seats were contested in Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois, and New York—see *Proceedings*, 12.
7. Nichols, *Disruption*, 302; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 67.
8. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 1, 1860. Halstead reported the incident slightly differently, stating that when Gittings rose to renew the motion (to vote for a nominee), the Alabama delegate, whom Halstead called "Cooper," said, "I don't second the motion of that man down yonder" (italics added)—see Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69–70. William S. Gittings was a delegate from Baltimore City. The *Baltimore Sun* on June 22, 1860, referred to Thomas B. Cooper as a delegate from Alabama, and its issue of June 23 referred to both Hooper and Cooper. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* gave the name as "Hooper" on May 1. The Douglas men were staying at the Mills House, and southern men at the Charleston Hotel. The reporter brawling at the Mills House was Langmore of the *St. Louis Republican*.
9. Maryland's delegates voted 3.5 yeas and 4.5 nays on the Douglas platform. Spittoons in Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69.
10. James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 215. The delegations from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas left—see *Proceedings*, 35–46, for their withdrawal announcements. Halstead reports that they left the floor and took seats as spectators.
11. Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961), 36; William Lee Miller, *Arguing About Slavery: The Great Battle in the United States Congress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 481. Miller explains that the two-thirds rule had been used in the

conventions of 1832 and 1836, but not the 1840 convention, and that its reinstatement at the 1844 convention—led by southern delegates—gave the South a regional veto over party decisions. Caleb Cushing was a brilliant orator and former Massachusetts congressman who had entered Harvard at age 13 and whose early abolitionist ardor had cooled by 1860.

12. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 3, 1860; *Baltimore Sun*, May 3, 1860.

13. *Baltimore Sun*, May 9, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 121, 123.

14. Less than a year later Crittenden would author the great compromise named for him, one of several attempts early in 1861 to entice the seceded states back and keep the upper-South and border states from joining the Confederacy. The Crittenden Compromise was a series of constitutional amendments to protect slavery. It was opposed by Lincoln (yet to be inaugurated) and defeated on the Senate floor, 25–23, on January 16, 1861. All 25 votes were cast by Republicans. In another of the Civil War's many ironies, two of Crittenden's sons became generals—one on each side.

15. Donald W. Curl, "The Baltimore Convention of the Constitutional Union Party," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 254; Joseph H. Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 349; *New York Herald*, May 9, 1860, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 352.

16. *New York Herald*, May 9, 1860, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 352.

17. *Baltimore Sun*, May 10, 1860.

18. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 123, 127 (italics Halstead's). In his reporting, Halstead used several slang expressions of the time: "spreads" were important people, and "Plugs" referred to the rowdy gangs of the period. Other terms included "swells" for men dressed too well and "screws" for misers. See Hesseltine, 307.

19. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 131–4 (balloting). Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 353, gives the results of the second ballot as 138 for Bell and 69 for Houston.

20. Four Maryland delegates attended, and three were given key posts: Dennis Claude became vice president; S. C. Long, secretary; and U.S. Senator Anthony Kennedy was chosen a member of the party's Executive Union Committee. Kennedy was the brother of John P. Kennedy, a lawyer, novelist, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and who from 1838 to 1846 was a Whig member of Congress from Maryland. J. P. Kennedy served as Millard Fillmore's secretary of the navy in 1852 and 1853 and became an ardent unionist after the Civil War began. See Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 124, 138.

21. Bernard C. Steiner: *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1916), 162, 163, 169, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 373. Davis, a Know-Nothing Congressman from Baltimore from 1858 to 1865 (not continuously) and one of the outstanding orators of his generation, was a strong unionist who opposed secession on both constitutional and economic grounds.

22. Brantz Mayer quoted in William J. Evitts: *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 146.

23. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860. (Italics theirs.)

24. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860.

25. Betty D. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 243. Some accounts state erroneously that the southern seceders nominated a candidate at their Richmond meeting. They did not.

26. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860.

27. Nichols, *Disruption*, 313; *Baltimore Sun*, June 19, 1860 (italics theirs). Halstead spelled the name "Saulsbury," as did the *Sun* in its June 23 edition and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* in its June 19 edition.
28. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 198, 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 19, 1860. Johnson later fought for the Confederacy and helped lead a cavalry raid in 1864 that terrorized Baltimore City.
29. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860, and June 20, 1860; Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 247; *Baltimore Sun*, June 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1860.
30. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860. By telegram and letter, Douglas authorized his forces to withdraw his name for the sake of party unity; they refused. Not until after his nomination was his offer to withdraw revealed to the convention. The full text of Douglas' letter appears in the *Sun* of June 25, 1860.
31. *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 211.
32. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 249. Stephens quoted in George Fort Milton: *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), 468.
33. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 220–21; *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 22, 1860.
34. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 234 (the reports of the Credentials Committee are given verbatim on pages 211–19); McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 216.
35. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 244–45, 251, 255. Maryland awarded Douglas two and a half votes.
36. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 267–68; *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Institute Hall was also called Market Hall at that time. William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1973), 24, writes that nine of sixteen Maryland delegates bolted; I have been unable to verify that claim elsewhere.
37. Breckinridge received 81 votes, to 20 for former senator and Buchanan ally Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, though after the first ballot the Dickinson votes switched to Breckinridge to make his nomination unanimous. Maryland cast 1.5 votes for Breckinridge and three for Dickinson. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Many sources erroneously state that Breckinridge was nominated in Richmond, where the seceders first met, without acting, following Charleston.
38. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25 and June 26, 1860; Robert E. Lee to Major Earl Van Dorn, July 3, 1860, Lee Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 68.
39. William H. Gist to Thomas H. Hicks, December 30, 1859; "Resolutions in Relation to Federal Affairs," December 16, 1859, and Thomas H. Hicks to William H. Gist, January 26, 1860, all in *Maryland House and Senate Documents, 1859, Document F*. Hicks' original letter to Gist is in MS 1860, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society Library.
40. "We also respectfully" in both "Report of the Committee on Ways and Means" and "Report of the Select Committee on the Resolutions of the Legislature of South Carolina" (in *Maryland General Assembly Documents, House Document KK and Senate Document CC*, both dated March 8, 1860).
41. Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, 165 (hogs); Douglas R. Edgerton, *Year of Meteors: Stephen Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and the Election that Brought on the Civil War* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010), 129–30 (press box).
42. Abraham Lincoln to Samuel Galloway, March 24, 1860, in Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:34; Edgerton,

Year of Meteors, 125 (hair); William E. Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1937), 313, in Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 111 (rail-splitter); *New York Tribune*, June 11, 1860 (nutmeg dealer . . . nightman).

43. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 145; Horace Greeley, *Proceedings of the First Three Republican National Conventions of 1856, 1860, 1864* (C.W. Johnson, 1893), 91; Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 140 (counterfeit tickets and boxer) and 133 (Maryland delegates).

44. Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1944), 174, in Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*, 116.

45. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 223 (speeches); Thurlow Weed to Abraham Lincoln, June 25, 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, in Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 174.

46. See Carwardine, *A Life of Purpose and Power*, 124–25, for an incisive analysis.

47. Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*, 126–127 (side-splitting); Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 199–200 (speaking tour, “A Boy Lost”).

48. David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 441, in Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 203 (Lincoln next president), 205 (tomatoes) and 2 (“leaned too far”).

49. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1860, and *Baltimore Wecker*, November 1, 1860, in Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 36 (cayenne sticks).

50. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 15, 1860, quoted in Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 41.

51. *Baltimore Sun*, November 7 and December 3 (Beantown meeting), 1860; Hester Anne (Wilkins) Davis to Rebecca Davis, May 24, 1861, A. B. Davis Papers, MS 1511, Maryland Historical Society Library. More remarkable was a peaceful Baltimore election after years of election-day violence, this one marred only by the accidental wounding (as recounted in the *Baltimore Sun*) of a policeman by another member of the force who had unholstered his revolver after being struck by a spittoon hurled from Bell headquarters.



George W. Welzant (right), pictured here with Rev. Mieczyslaw Barabasz, envisioned a thriving Polish colony near Baltimore. (Author's collection.)

George W. Welzant and the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company

THOMAS L. HOLLOWAK

In most Polish communities throughout the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, religious and lay leaders worked toward the material improvement of their fellow Poles. That was certainly true in Baltimore's *Polonia*¹ as well, and though leadership was divided among several religious and lay groups there was only one man who had the vision, as well as the enterprising spirit, to create a colony expressly for the benefit of his fellow compatriots. George W. Welzant possessed the qualities needed to make his vision a reality, but the timing of his enterprise, after an initial success, would lead to its demise and his downfall.

After the Civil War, Maryland and many southern states became interested in attracting foreign immigrants to settle in rural areas that lacked cultivation or were abandoned by local farmers. There was also an element of discrimination in that the landholders were dissatisfied with newly freed slaves as farm laborers. In an effort to attract foreign immigrants, states like Maryland, which created a Bureau of Immigration, worked to attract immigrants in Europe and among those who had settled in the West.² Maryland's efforts, which were directed toward attracting German and Scandinavian immigrants, met with limited success. The state made no real effort to attract the Poles who were increasingly arriving at Baltimore's Locust Point after 1868. The vast majority of Polish immigrants who arrived in Baltimore boarded trains to the Midwest or anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, though a small number did settle in Baltimore. This nascent Polish community was at first located in Fells Point. Its numbers gradually increased as early immigrants brought family members or wrote to friends back home to persuade them to emigrate and settle in the city. Many found work in the canneries or along the waterfront. By the mid-1880s, Baltimore's *Polonia* had established two Polish Catholic churches, as well as numerous religious, political, and social organizations, and they began to expand beyond Fells Point into Canton and across the harbor at Locust Point.³ Many of the women and children would leave the city in the spring to go into the fields in Anne Arundel and Baltimore County to pick strawberries and other crops, returning in

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the fall to work in the waterfront canneries. Beginning in 1890, some families left to spend the winter on the Gulf Coast, where they worked in canneries that had been recently established there.⁴

Though Maryland's Bureau of Immigration may have overlooked them in its colonization schemes, recruiters from other southern states were not so neglectful. In 1889, Colonel Julian Allen of Statesville, North Carolina, came to Baltimore seeking Polish immigrants to settle in Virginia and North Carolina. On July 15 he spoke at a gathering of Poles in the hall of Holy Rosary Church, supposedly with the active support of both Cardinal James Gibbons and Rev. Piotr Chowaniec, pastor of the Polish church. A newspaper reporter wrote that the meeting was attended by five hundred Poles, and they were so enthusiastic about the project that they asked Rev. Chowaniec to visit both states and report back to the congregation. His article further stated, "It is estimated there are 5,000 Polish families in Baltimore, and that the majority of them would gladly settle in Virginia and North Carolina." A few days later Chowaniec wrote to the *Baltimore Sun* denying that he would go to North Carolina. He also emphasized that Cardinal Gibbons "has not given his approval to Col. Allen's colonization plans."⁵

Chowaniec's denial of his and the cardinal's involvement, and by extension, support for the colonization scheme, may have been self-serving in that he did not relish relocating to an agrarian community or losing a majority of his congregation. He may have been dissuaded from his initial support for the plan out of fear that, since Holy Rosary was the smaller of the two Polish congregations, the cardinal would decide to close the parish if it lost a significant number of its congregants.

Although this attempt to create a Polish colony in 1889 did not succeed, it apparently planted the idea of a venture closer to Baltimore in the mind of Baltimore's leading Polish entrepreneur, George W. Welzant. However, with Chowaniec firmly opposed to any colonization plans that would reduce his congregation, Welzant could not move forward without the risk of alienating this important religious leader.

When Piotr Chowaniec died suddenly on May 25, 1892, Welzant saw an opportunity to realize his vision.⁶ Chowaniec's death led to a confrontation between the archdiocese and the congregation over Chowaniec's successor. Although it apparently was resolved with the appointment of a newly ordained priest, Felix Szulborski, by 1893 a schism developed within the congregation when Szulborski was demoted to curate and Rev. Mieczyslaw Barabasz was appointed pastor. Welzant allied himself with Barabasz, who rewarded him by naming him a trustee.⁷ Barabasz, with his congregation divided, needed the support of a powerful leader, and although he did not actively support Welzant's colonization plan, neither did he oppose it.

During the summer Welzant met with potential investors in Baltimore and Philadelphia, and on October 18, 1893, the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company of Baltimore City was incorporated to buy, sell, mortgage, lease, improve, dispose

or otherwise deal in lands with a capital stock of \$24,000 divided into 240 shares at \$100 each.⁸ As the only Polish member of the firm, he would serve as the company's treasurer and sales agent.⁹ Despite its incorporation in Baltimore City, the Polish colony at New Warsaw would be located in adjacent Baltimore County.

Born Wladyslaw Welzant in September 1865 at Gniezno, Poland, Welzant came to America in 1881 in search of his father. The elder Welzant had immigrated to America earlier, but the family had not heard from him since his departure from Poland several years before. After George completed his education, he learned the trade of a coat trimmer before emigrating to America. Supposedly, after a two-year journey during which he visited all thirty-eight states, he located his father in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. For reasons unknown, father and son came to Baltimore sometime around 1884. Years later a fellow countryman remembered that, "When he arrived in Baltimore he was [as] ragged and poor as a church mouse, just a tramp." Eventually he brought his mother Franciszka, along with his five sisters and two brothers from Poland to Baltimore. Sometime after coming to Baltimore he met and married Jadwiga Lisiecka, who had arrived in Baltimore either in 1880 or 1881.¹⁰

An acquaintance who was not kindly disposed towards him stated that with Welzant, "There's nothing there but business, business, and more business! What he has isn't enough for him." Although meant as a criticism, Welzant's ability to succeed and his enterprising spirit cannot be denied. By 1888 he had opened a saloon at the corner of Bond Street and Canton Avenue, to which he added a grocery store. In 1891 he started the first Polish language newspaper in Baltimore, *Polonia*. He also published books and other printed materials and acted as an agent for several European steamship lines. In May 1893 he was one of the founders of the Kosciuszko

Piotr Chowaniec.



Rev. Piotr Chowaniec of the Holy Rosary Church in Baltimore rejected a proposal to relocate members of the Polish community to North Carolina or Virginia. ("Commerative Issue", *Jednosc-Polonia*, December 1926.)

Building and Loan Association, serving as its president. His business interests were coupled with involvement in religious, political, and social organizations.¹¹

It probably was no coincidence that the establishment of the Kosciuszko Bank occurred at the same time as the development of the Polish colony at New Warsaw. The proposed new town was located about three miles from Baltimore, just east of Back River, between the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In August the *Baltimore American* reported, "One hundred and eighty acres of land has been purchased, and an option is held on twice as much more. After the proper titles to the land have been secured, arrangements will be made for the placing of several manufacturing plants which will employ a large number of people. Among other manufactories mentioned are a shirt and overalls factory and a shoe factory. A brick yard, capable of a large output, will also be established. The projectors of the scheme have promised several acres of land free for a church and school house." The paper's reporter described the site as a "splendid, level country with excellent surface drainage," and added that, "The name determined upon for the new town is Warsaw. It will remind the inhabitants of their fatherland."¹²

Around the time of Warsaw's incorporation, the *Baltimore Sun* ran a feature story on the city's Polish residents, who, the paper informed its readers, numbered around "23,000 . . . residing . . . in . . . about forty-five squares of dwellings in Fells Point, extending from Pratt Street down to the water's edge and from Caroline Street on the west to Washington Street on the east." The article also mentioned the expansion of the Poles into areas outside of Fells Point. Thirty families, including about 150 persons, lived in Mt. Clare, in southwest Baltimore; 200 families, comprising 300 persons, lived in Canton, and a small colony was at Locust Point. In all, about 8,000 were scattered in various places about the city outside of the Fells Point colony, but those were included in the 23,000 given as the number of Polish residents of Baltimore. This enumeration also included Lithuanians from a certain province of Europe, but the reporter cautioned its readers that this group of "Poles and Lithuanians must not be confused with the Polish Jews, whose colony lies south of Baltimore street and between Front and Caroline streets."¹³ The *Sun* also noted:

Like most foreign colonies in large American cities, the Poles here have their leader, chosen tacitly by natural selection. Mr. G. W. Welzant is this leader in Baltimore, and he is adviser in general to the whole colony. What he says goes. . . . Mr. Welzant is the proprietor of the Polish paper *Polonia*, published on South Bond Street. It circulates among the Poles throughout the Union. Its editor is Dr. Julian Czupka who was a lawyer in his own country. Mr. Joseph Bernolak, the vice-editor, was a commissioned officer in the Austrian Army. Mr. Welzant, in addition to his publishing business, runs a saloon which sells fifty barrels of beer a week, keeps a grocery, is interested in a brewery, is in land enterprises, is

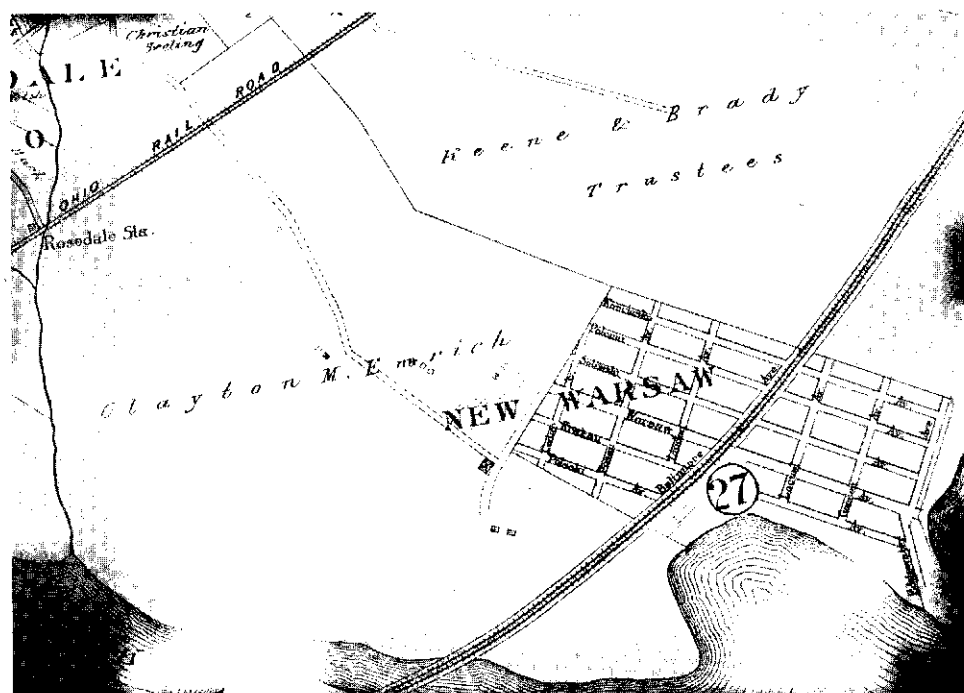
a steamship passenger agent, an insurance agent and a money broker. Besides this he takes an active interest in the politics of the second ward, and can put his hands, it is said, on five thousand Polish voters. A prominent Pole said yesterday when Mr. Welzant tells the Poles to people the new town they'll do it. It is proposed to have small farm plots and to start a copper smelting shop, a brick-yard and a tailoring shop there.¹⁴

As promotions for the new Polish colony were about to begin, an ominous note in the local press stated that although "values were tolerably firm, the [real estate] market [was] sluggish." This may have prompted Welzant in late November to arrange an excursion for approximately two hundred Poles living in the vicinity of Holy Rosary to travel to the proposed colony of New Warsaw. During the tour he explained the conditions under which they could become members. By this time the property had been surveyed, and lots approximately 25 x 100 feet had been laid out in a grid pattern. Among the thirteen streets, eight were named after Polish places and people: Kosciuszko, Polonia, Sobieski, Warsaw, Krakau [*sic*], Pulaski, Posen, and Gnesen [*sic*]; four were named after trees and the street nearest the North East Creek was named Edgewater.¹⁵

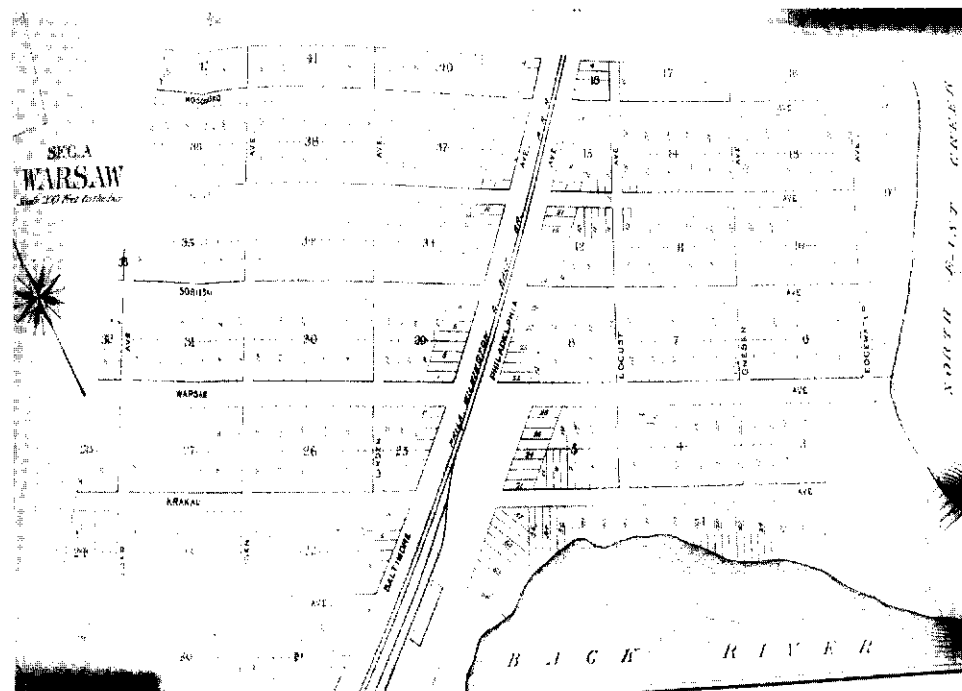
Despite the town's creation, it was not until December 3, 1893 that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad completed its sale to Clayton M. Emrich of the 180 acres of land in Baltimore County's Twelfth District for \$6,666.67. Emrich, a former Marylander, owned a hotel in Washington, D.C. Although not a director, he was the chief stockholder of the New Warsaw Company.¹⁶ Prior to the sale being finalized, that same Sunday edition of the Baltimore *Morning Herald* reported that, "Nearly 100 tracts have been disposed of. Four hundred visited the property two weeks ago with a view to settling there and eight carloads will leave the Broadway station of the Pennsylvania railroad at 1:30 o'clock today with the same objects in view."¹⁷

A week later the *Herald* noted that investors were becoming interested in the New Warsaw Land and Industry Company; leaders of the Polish community were involved in the promotion of the enterprise, and there were good prospects for manufacturing enterprises being located there in 1894. Among those was a copper smelter, capable of converting fifty tons of ore daily, that would begin operation in the spring, and a site for the canning factory had been selected. A brick-yard and shirt factory were also certainties in the near future.¹⁸

A few weeks later, on January 27, 1894, the *Sun* reported that several Philadelphia capitalists were considering investing in the construction of a 4.5-mile electric railway running from Canton to Back River, to be known as the Baltimore, Middle River and Sparrows Point Electric Railway. The group initially met with the county surveyor to review the proposed route, and in a follow-up article on February 10, the capitalists indicated to the *Sun* reporter their willingness to finance 65 percent of the project and to finance the remaining 35 percent offered the remaining stock at



Images of New Warsaw, from the G. W. Bromley & Company Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1898. Note the street names, below.



eight-three cents per share. When the group hired the county surveyor as the engineer for the company, its president, Thomas B. Gatch, stated there was no doubt of the road's construction. The Baltimore County commissioners granted the company's petition to allow the tracks to be placed in the center of Eastern Avenue in Canton and were expected to vote to extend the time for commencing construction until August 23, 1894.¹⁹

Contemporary land records for Baltimore County for this period do not reflect the newspapers' optimism with regard to land sales. Not until February 13, 1894 did the first real estate transactions for New Warsaw appear in the press, and they indicate that the only Poles who purchased lots in the new town were John Schultz, John Weber, Ignacy Rybarczyk, Joseph and Frances Mroz, and Joseph Bucewicz. On February 16, 1894 additional lots were sold to Konstanty Liesko, Alfons Krasowski, Frank Drazba, Julian Czupka, and Annie Lisiecki. The latter was Jadwiga Welzant's sister-in-law.²⁰

On April 2, 1894 the Baltimore *Morning Herald* devoted considerable space to George Welzant's latest chartered excursion to New Warsaw:

Yesterday was a gala day for the Polish people of East Baltimore. Hundreds dressed in festive attire took advantage of the first excursion to Warsaw, the new Polish settlement on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad, about five miles from the city. About 2 o'clock, with band and banners, about 400 Poles, accompanied by their wives and children and sweethearts, marched toward the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Depot [and] boarded a special train of seven cars which had been chartered for the occasion. George W. Welzant took charge of the excursionists. Professor Lisiecki's Orchestra played selections on the train. The engine . . . was decorated with the Stars and Stripes and a Polish Flag.

Warsaw being reached the excursionists dismounted from the train and proceeded to enjoy themselves. The Polish youth betook themselves to sportive pastimes of all sorts. The elders inspected the new settlement from end to end. Young men and women danced to the music of Professor Lisiecki's string band. A plot of ground with an area of an acre and a-half was laid off as the site for a new Polish Catholic church. The four corners of the square were marked with diminutive Polish flags. In the centre a large United States flag floated from a stake 30 feet high. About 5:30 the excursionists returned.²¹

Of the seven hundred acres purchased by the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company, 120 acres, known as *Section A*, was designated for residential. The *Morning Herald* reported that nearly all of the lots were sold by the beginning of April 1894, with about thirty families occupying homes in Warsaw. *Section B* was intended for commercial interests, and the *Herald* reporter noted, "Already quite a



New Warsaw Oyster Cannery tokens: (left to right): 5 cents, reverse, and 1 dollar. (Courtesy, Russ Sears.)

portentous frame hotel has been erected. There are two saloons, a bakery and three grocery stores." The article also mentioned that two factories, the Warsaw Canning Company and the Bamboo Furniture Company, had already begun operations and that a terra cotta manufacturer in Pittsburgh was about to relocate to New Warsaw. The *Herald's* reporter stated that the "two factories already employ about 75 people, some of whom reside in Baltimore and go to and fro morning and evening over the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore road."²²

George Welzant planned to run similar excursions every other Sunday until late fall. He told the *Herald* reporter that the site would also include extensive athletic grounds in addition to the residential and industrial sections, and that the goal of the company was to establish a colony that would become a center of attraction for all of the Poles now living in Baltimore City.²³

On April 6, 1894 the General Assembly passed an act to incorporate the New Warsaw Bridge Company. The company planned to build a covered bridge from "New Warsaw to a Point on the opposite side of Back River, upon such site between the railroad bridge of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company, over Back River and the bridge of Eastern Avenue extended, over the same river." The capital stock of the Bridge Company was \$10,000, divided into two thousand shares at five dollars each. It was expected that the bridge would collect tolls to recoup the cost of construction and issue dividends to its investors.²⁴

In May a New Yorker, Leo Wysiecki, bought twelve lots on Warsaw and Sobieski Avenues.²⁵ Other than this single large purchase, the land records continued to contradict rosy newspaper reports that the colony was attracting residents. One described the elaborate celebration among Poles commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Poland's Constitution of May the Third. "Nearly six hundred persons participated" in the parade that preceded the speeches, and "hundreds of people . . . lined the sidewalks," among whom were "a number of the Polish colony at New Warsaw on Back River, and a great many Polish inhabitants of East Baltimore."²⁶ One explana-

tion might be that the Poles were renting property from landlords such as Czupka, Lisiecki, and Wysiecki, who owned more than one lot.

The newspaper reports also mentioned the prominent role George Welzant and his brother-in-law, Charles Lisiecki, a Baltimore police officer, played in the parade and celebration. "Lisiecki's band played Polish, as well as favorite American tunes." Riding in carriages in the parade were Mayor Ferdinand B. Latrobe; George W. Welzant; Fathers John Rodowicz and Joseph Skretny, of St. Stanislaus' Catholic Church; Peter Toczkowski; and Rev. Mieczysław Barabasz.²⁷

In June, Anton Kelminski of Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, purchased a lot, and George Welzant purchased ten lots near the railroad. Welzant also secured a \$6,000 mortgage on his property through the Kosciuszko Bank for the express purpose of building an Oyster Cannery. Later that summer, among the items sent to an exhibition in Lwow, Poland [now Ukraine] was an album of Polish life in Baltimore with sixty photographs, yearbooks, and issues of *Polonia*, as well as samples from Welzant's canning factory.²⁸

Further skepticism that the colony was flourishing came from Welzant's antagonist Frank Morawski, who wrote in Cleveland's Polish language newspaper that in the Polish colony "Nowa Warszawa, . . . an enormous fever currently reigns." But, he was quick to add, the enterprise was "a true trap for the gullible, established for the purpose of prying a few pennies from the needy."²⁹

George W. Welzant appeared to be at the zenith of his power. In addition to his entrepreneurial pursuits, he was president of the St. Wojciech Society at Holy Rosary, where his brother-in-law Joseph Lisiecki was the sexton, and the Pulaski Democratic Association of the Second Ward, where his other brother-in-law, Charles Lisiecki, was treasurer. But all was not well. There were menacing indications that the effects of the severe national economic depression that had begun the previous year were about to have an impact in Baltimore and on the fortunes of New Warsaw and Welzant.

Economic historians view the "Panic" or Depression of 1893 as a turning point in American history. A hallmark of the economic downturn was the unemployment rate, which exceeded 10 percent for five or six consecutive years and the transformation of America from an agricultural to industrial society.³⁰

The first fissures in Welzant's entrepreneurial ventures occurred on October 25, 1894, when John A. Sheridan filed a bill of complaint in the circuit court against George Welzant and the other directors of the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company. Sheridan, through his lawyers, asked for the appointment of a receiver for the corporation on the grounds of alleged insolvency. In his petition to the court, Sheridan stated that the company, "induced the plaintiff to erect a house on the land, agreeing to pay him \$700 upon its completion. That after the house was built, the plaintiff demanded \$325 on his contract, which was refused, and that as he was about to file a mechanic's lien against the house, [he] was induced to accept prom-

issory notes for the amount, only \$25 which has been paid." Sheridan also alleged that Clayton Emrich, who owned the land and was not a director or stockholder, "manipulated the scheme with the purpose of defrauding the plaintiff and other creditors of the company."³¹

When questioned by a reporter for the *Baltimore Herald*, Emrich denied all of the allegations and emphasized that he was not a stockholder or involved in any way with the company. In fact, "he was not instrumental in having the company formed, nor knew of the scheme until application was made to develop the land on which new Warsaw is located." Therefore, he wasn't responsible for any of the contracts, although he did believe the company was solvent.³²

Edward Fitzgerald, the company's legal counsel, also responded to the allegations by telling reporters that the alleged insolvency of the company was not true and refuting Mr. Sheridan's claim. "There is now due only \$125, the payment of which was the result of an express understanding with Sheridan."³³ Fitzgerald also denied the allegations of fraud. In mid-November the petition was withdrawn after being amicably settled out of court. Afterward, the company announced that not only was it solvent, it had a new patent to manufacture steel and would build a plant employing several hundred men. Once again, Pittsburgh capitalists were looking over the site with the intention of building a large shoe factory that could employ two hundred Polish residents. A few weeks later Frank Lowinski purchased a lot on Warsaw Avenue for \$125.00. It would turn out to be the last lot sold in the Polish colony at New Warsaw.³⁴

Although Sheridan's complaint had been resolved, George Welzant's troubles were just beginning. On October 24 in the Superior Court a judgment was found against Welzant for a debt of \$452.87.³⁵ On November 7, Cleveland's Polish language newspaper, *Jutrzenka*, reported that Welzant's newspaper *Polonia*, "is on the verge of collapse. Its former editor Czupka . . . has collected some \$7,000 and hit the road to Chicago."³⁶ Troubles began to escalate. In May 1895, the Hamburg-American Steamship Line was granted an attachment against property George Welzant owned in New York to recover \$95.50 that was due the company. Welzant, an agent for the company in Baltimore, had collected the amount on orders issued for tickets but failed to turn the money over to the firm.³⁷

Although Welzant's and New Warsaw's fortunes may have been on the wane, the colony's initial success may have provided inspiration and a blueprint for another Baltimore businessman, Martin Wagner, who founded Wagner's Point on the shores of Curtis Bay in July 1895. Wagner was the owner of a successful cannery on Boston Street in Fells Point whose firm was in great need of expansion, but was it just a coincidence that instead he chose to build a mammoth structure at the Curtis Bay site that would begin operation as soon as the tomato and peach season opened? Wagner informed a reporter, "200 dwellings will be erected, streets laid off and the whole illuminated by electricity."³⁸ The new town, then located in Anne Arundel

TAKE NOTICE— THAT GEORGE W. WELZANT was adjudicated an insolvent debtor on the 14th day of January, A. D. 1896. The meeting of creditors will be held on the 21ST DAY OF FEBRUARY, A. D. 1896, at 3 o'clock P. M., at the office of the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, for the purpose of proving claims, propounding of interrogatories and the selection of a permanent trustee or trustees. **LOUIS B. BIRNELL**, Preliminary Trustee.

This notice appeared in the Baltimore Morning Herald, February 15, 1896.

County, would have easy access to the city because it was would be another terminus on the Curtis Bay Line of the Baltimore Traction Company. Unlike New Warsaw, the community was not intended for one ethnic group but open to anyone who wanted to work in the packing house and live in a suburb away from urban congestion.

Throughout the summer and into the fall of 1895, George Welzant continued to be involved in Polish civic organizations and democratic politics. In September it was reported that he was being urged to run for the second branch of the city council from the Second Ward. These activities, along with expanding his newspaper from a weekly to a daily, apparently led him to neglect promotion of New Warsaw.³⁹ Therefore, it came as a shock when Baltimore's newspapers reported in December:

Mr. George W. Welzant, the leader of the Polish colony in Baltimore, has been away from his home, 601 South Bond Street, for two weeks, and his wife and friends do not know where he is. Mr. Joseph Bernolack [*sic*], editor of *Polonia*, a Polish daily newspaper, of which Mr. Welzant is the proprietor, said last night: 'Some time ago it was decided to form *Polonia* into a stock company, and I went around New York, Philadelphia and other Northern cities for the purpose of getting Polish people interested in the scheme. Mr. Welzant went away for the purpose of realizing the results of my canvas. The places he was to visit were New York, Perth Amboy, Brooklyn, Long Island City and Philadelphia. Since

his arrival in New York we have had no word, either directly or indirectly from him.⁴⁰

The anxious tone of these stories quickly changed when within a few days it was reported that he had likely skipped town to avoid his creditors. Chief among those who rushed to the courts to file suit was the pastor of Holy Rosary, Rev. Mieczyslaw Barabasz, who apparently had loaned Welzant \$750 toward the proposed expansion of his newspaper. It is not clear exactly how much Welzant owed his creditors. An item in the *Washington Post* stated, "George W. Welzant, a Polish banker of Baltimore has disappeared, leaving behind debts to the amount over \$40,000."⁴¹ That may have been greatly exaggerated. The real amount he owed was probably somewhere between three and seven thousand dollars. In January his saloon, newspaper, and real estate holdings were seized and sold at auction. He was declared bankrupt.⁴²

In July 1896, Welzant's wife Jadwiga, or "Hattie," and the couple's three children quietly took a train to New York where, apparently, George had been since his flight from Baltimore. That September Jadwiga's brother, Charles Lisiecki, told reporters he had received a letter from his brother-in-law informing him that Welzant and his family were all in South Africa where he had, "opened a restaurant at Johannesburg," having "arrived a month ago. It is also announced that there is a Polish colony of about eighty families in the town. Mr. Welzant wrote that if he was successful in Johannesburg, he would return to Baltimore and discharge all his financial obligations."⁴³

In reporting his re-emergence among the Boers, the *Baltimore Morning Herald* noted:

Few men cut a wider swath in this city as a promoter than Welzant. While in his prime he was a leader among the Poles and a pillar of Holy Rosary Church. . . . He was the proprietor of a restaurant . . . manager of the *Daily Polonia*, a Polish newspaper; president of a Polish building association and bank; president of a bottling company, and president of the New Warsaw Company, an institution that founded the town of New Warsaw, in the eastern suburbs, for the purpose of advancing the general interests of the Poles. Several canning and other establishments were founded at New Warsaw, and a number of houses built, but the venture did not prove a success.⁴⁴

After Welzant's departure, Clayton Emrich moved to declare the New Warsaw Industrial and Land Company insolvent, and he was granted receivership of the company in 1897.⁴⁵

Wagner's Point may have been the chief beneficiary of the failed Polish colony at New Warsaw. On April 11, 1897, the *Sunday Herald* devoted considerable coverage to Martin Wagner's enterprise. Described as a "thriving little hamlet . . . from what only a short time since was wilderness skirting the shores of Curtis Bay has sprung a miniature town." In addition to the oyster cannery, there was an oil house, restau-

rant, and a can-cutting factory under construction. Tracks from the B&O Railroad ran to the property. Residents lived in three rows of two-story houses with a store at each corner. At present there were forty-two homes with plans to build another row of sixteen houses when the weather became warmer. Each house was equipped with gas, and the community was served by two artesian wells with a third also planned that would bring water directly into the homes. A one-room schoolhouse was located on the ground floor of a community hall that became the site for social gatherings. There was also a small waterfront park, where the residents could picnic during the summer months. The article noted that most of those employed in the cannery were, "Poles and Bohemians, and they live together in perfect harmony . . . as the remuneration is \$1 a day . . . with a nominal rent . . . they make a very comfortable living."⁴⁶ In 1907 there were enough Poles living in Wagner's Point that the Wagner family donated land and half of the building cost for the establishment of St. Adalbert Polish Catholic Church.⁴⁷

After the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company went into receivership, the Polish colony merited only occasional coverage in the local press. An unsolved possible murder in late December 1896 caused a brief stir when an unknown man's charred body was found near Warsaw, but after a few weeks passed and no arrests were made the case was soon forgotten. On August 15, 1897, an unknown woman was struck and killed by a train. She was identified the next day as Lucy Kwapiszewska, nearly ninety, who had wandered from her daughter Mrs. Agnes Lorek's home at 1822 Aliceanna Street, in Fells Point. In March of the following year another accidental death occurred when a man, who was never identified, was also struck by a Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore train near Warsaw.⁴⁸

By the summer of 1901, it was reported that New Warsaw had become the site of a pleasure resort (possibly where Welzant's cannery once stood) whose waterfront drew a crowd of mostly Czechs from northeast Baltimore every Sunday. Then, on June 23, 1901, a spectacular and deadly train accident took place on the Back River Railroad Bridge. Witnesses told reporters that because there were larger than usual crowds at Warsaw, a group of approximately eighteen Czech gymnasts and their families had taken a ferry across the river to picnic at Sappee's Shore. Lingered a little too long they missed the ferry to take them back. They worried that they would miss their train to return to the city and decided to walk across the bridge. The Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore Railroad had clearly posted, "signs on either end of the bridge warning persons not to use the bridge as a footway." Ignoring the warning signs the group began walking across the double-track bridge, around 7:30 P.M. It was about three hundred feet long and most of the group was halfway across when the first train appeared.

According to Frank Steck, a member of the group, "The people were walking in small crowds across," when Steck, "walking in the rear of the main crowd, shouted to them to look out for a freight train, which was on the same track that the people

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Advertisement in the Baltimore Sun, October 7, 1907.

were on. Owing to the noise of the approaching train no one heard his warning." Frank and two companions, along with the rest of crowd, jumped across the tracks in time, but could only watch as the freight train "plunged into the crowd . . . but owing to the great panic and confusion, the people did not see express train No. 69, northbound, headed toward them." Once again most managed to escape being hit by the express train except one woman who was struck and immediately killed. Steck and his two friends dropped "between the crossties and swung by their hands twenty feet above water."⁴⁹

Twenty-two-year-old Stanislaus Kares, who also was walking with Steck, "jumped off the bridge into a marsh with high grass, a distance of about ten feet. He severely cut the palm of both hands on some stone and was badly shaken up." His father Joseph, who "felt the bridge shaking like a train was coming," and a friend managed to get off of the bridge before the trains came but saw his friends being struck by the two trains. Although the sight made him sick, he was sure the others were killed and went back to look under the bridge for more victims. He told a reporter, "I saw what I thought was a child that had been killed, and picked it up, but it was Mr. Krob's leg."⁵⁰

In all, three people were killed, a woman and a husband and wife, as the freight and the express crossed the bridge in opposite directions nearly simultaneously. The three victims all lived on North Dallas Street and witnesses said their "bodies were horribly mangled and the tragedy created the utmost consternation in the Bohemian section of the city." Initially it was believed that many others may have been killed and their bodies thrown into the river but not recovered. At the time of the accident the tide was out and some of the group jumped into the river to avoid being hit by the trains, but they survived with minor or no injuries. After stopping to discover what they had struck, the train crew reported that "A terrified crowd of Poles and Bohemians gathered about the bridge and were with difficulty kept away from the bodies." The bodies were removed by a special train sent from Baltimore and undertaker Frank Cvach, "with a corps of assistants . . . gathered the dismembered portions of the bodies together and place them in neat black caskets. They were then removed to the . . . Bohemian Cemetery . . . [and] placed in the mausoleum to await burial."⁵¹

By 1906 though, the community had once again slipped into obscurity. To those who did not live there it was just a, "station on [the] Philadelphia Baltimore & Wilmington Rail Road."⁵² The following year this would change when the Owners Realty Company, located in Baltimore City, bought the property with plans to develop fishing shores, truck farms, chicken farms, and suburban lots that they named Chesaco Park. The following year, on October 18, 1907, the company had sold seventy-one lots to Benjamin F. Litsinger for \$1,000.

By 1908 the company had begun building houses and offering an affordable payment plan to lure city dwellers to the waterfront suburban community. On May 18 of that year, George W. Welzant died. He was forty-three years old and his death at Johns Hopkins Hospital was due to spinal meningitis.⁵³ Ironically, a month before Welzant's death the General Assembly passed an "Act to incorporate the Chesaco Park Bridge Company for the purpose of constructing a bridge at Chesaco Park, formerly New Warsaw, in Baltimore county, North East creek and Back river." This was a clear indication that the New Warsaw Bridge had never been constructed. The new company's purpose besides erecting a drawbridge over Back River would also include, "purchasing, holding, leasing, selling, mortgaging and conveying real estate."⁵⁴

CHESACO PARK
For the "Can't
Get Away Man"

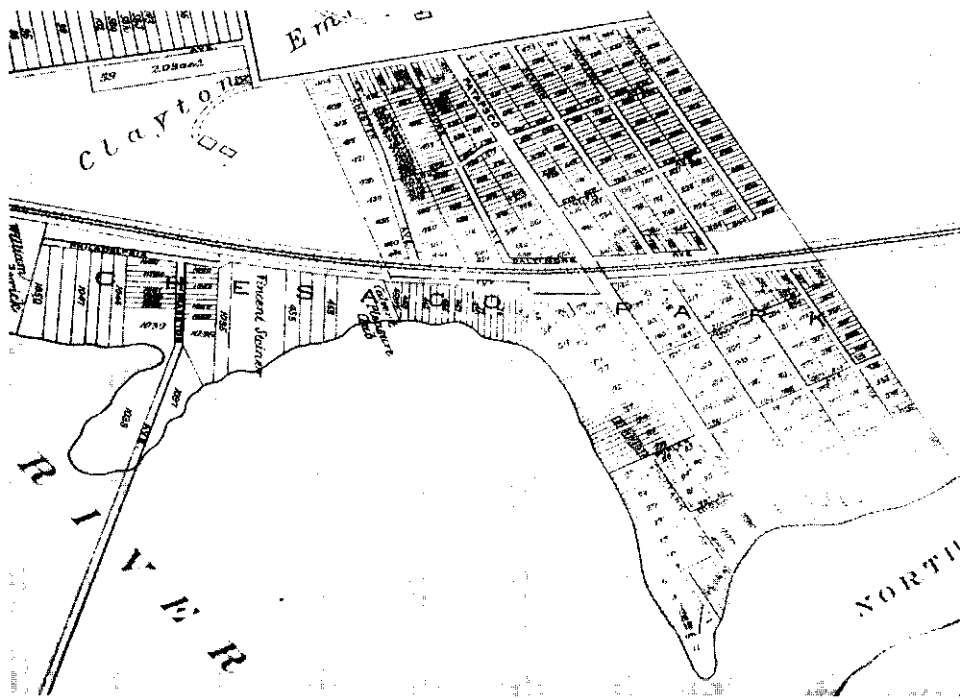


Shores, water fronts, bungalows. Take
Back River cars to Hall's, Eastern Ave.
Bridge, where our agents will meet you
any day or Sunday. Lots \$10 down,
\$5 per month. Bungalows, \$25 down,
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On 5c. fare. 30 minutes from center of
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Advertisement in the Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, July 24, 1909.

Although Chesaco Park proved to be a successful development, it rarely received any newspaper coverage and its relation to New Warsaw was noted in only a few infrequent newspaper articles. The first appeared in 1914 when two Italians



From the G.W. Bromley & Company Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1915.

armed with shotguns attempted to prevent construction of a bridge "to cross the Herring Run feedwater of Back river at Warsaw, near Chesaco Park."⁵⁵ The second, which appeared in March 1940, reported on a German couple who were about to celebrate their fifty-ninth wedding anniversary and who had lived on a farm near New Warsaw for almost fifty years. It described how in 1891 Charles Schatschneider "sold his original farm and brought another, in what was then called Warsaw, but is now known [as] Chesaco Park." His farm overlooked the heading of Back River, and he recalled:

when we came to Warsaw or now Chesaco Park, great three-masted schooners could come up the river to the heading and now you can hardly get through with a row boat. It was strictly a farming section. . . . there were few houses and they were widely scattered, and we have lived to see the district grow from almost a wilderness to a thickly populated highly developed community, with all modern conveniences, such as gas and electric lighting, water and sewage systems, paved streets, etc.

Schatschneider had purchased the old Stansbury farm that dated back to before the American Revolution. The Stansbury family cemetery was located on the property and it was believed that George Washington may have camped at the site during the Revolutionary War.⁵⁶

The last article appeared in May 1968 when, in a community profile, the *Baltimore American* described Chesaco Park as a "a friendly community." One of the long-time residents, Ida Sturtz, remembered that when she moved there in 1931 it was "a mud hole with no decent road . . . [and] only four buses a day connected the waterfront community with Baltimore." Another couple who had lived in the community for thirty years, Lester and Elizabeth Linton, did recall that Chesaco Park was, "originally a Polish community," but the name New Warsaw was never mentioned in the article.⁵⁷

The town's layout remained essentially the same with minor alterations, but the north-south streets named in honor of Polish heroes and cities were renamed (Patapsco, Potomac, Severn, Baltimore, Chester and Choptank). Those named after trees (Walnut, Linden, Locust, Popular) and Edgewater were retained.

History is full of what-ifs, and one can speculate that had it not been for the depression of 1893 New Warsaw might well have succeeded. George Welzant might have been elected to the city council. Certainly there would be no Chesaco Park. If New Warsaw had been a success, would Martin Wagner's company town at Wagner's Point been built? But the depression did occur, and today George Welzant and his Polish colony of New Warsaw have become a distant if not an entirely forgotten memory.

NOTES

1. *Polonia* is Latin for a Polish community outside of Poland.
2. *Maryland General Assembly Acts 1896*, Maryland State Archives (hereafter MSA); Roland T. Berhoff, "Southern Attitudes Towards Immigration, 1865-1914," *Journal of Southern History*, 17 (1951): 328-29.
3. Thomas L. Hollowak, *Baltimore's Polonia: A Brief History*, Baltimore: Historyk Press, 1995.
4. "Notes About Town," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, August 10, 1881, p. 4; "Baltimore Enterprise in Mississippi," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, January 1, 1890, p. 4.
5. "Where Polish Colonists Are Wanted," *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1889; "The Rev. Peter Chowaniec," *Baltimore Sun*, July 18, 1889.
6. "Sudden Death of Rev. Peter Chowaniec," *Baltimore Sun*, May 26, 1892, p. 8; "Obituary," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, May 26, 1892, p. 3. Rumors that the priest had died by his own hand surfaced quickly after his death and were reported both in Baltimore and in newspapers outside of Maryland. Was it a coincidence that Cardinal Gibbons did not attend, being indisposed? ("Buried Him With Honor," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 28, 1892; "Maimed Rites Evoke Feeling: Excitement at a Baltimore Funeral - A Dead Catholic Priest Reported to Have Died by his Own Hand - Impressive Church Ceremonies," *Charlotte [North Carolina] Observer*, May 28, 1892.
7. Thomas L. Hollowak, *The Rise of Independency among Baltimore's Polish Catholics: 1868-1898*, M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1990, 30-43.
8. Incorporation Records of Baltimore City, "New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company of Baltimore City," October 18, 1893, recorded December 22, 1893. The other four directors

were: Leonidas G. Turner and Edward W. Turner, who were realtors; William Merriken, a broker; and Edward D. Fitzgerald, a lawyer who provided legal counsel for the firm. Along with these Baltimore businessmen the investors also included Philadelphia capitalists.

9. "Real Estate Market," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, November 5, 1893, p. 7.
10. "Deaths – Mr. George W. Welzant," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 20, 1908; "Deaths," *Baltimore World*, May 20, 1908; "The Independent Church in Baltimore," *Jutrzenka*, July 25, 1894.
11. "The Independent Church in Baltimore," *Jutrzenka*, July 25, 1894.
12. "To Colonize the Poles: Philadelphians Buying of Land Near Baltimore," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 21, 1893.
13. "The Polish People," *Baltimore Sun*, September 5, 1893.
14. Ibid.
15. "Real Estate Market," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, November 5, 1893, p. 7; George W. Bromley and Walter S. Bromley, *Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland* (Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley & Company, 1898).
16. "Real Estate Transactions – Baltimore County," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, December 30, 1893.
17. "Real Estate Gossip," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, December 3, 1893, p. 14.
18. "Real Estate Gossip," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, December 10, 1893, p. 6.
19. "Suburbs and County," *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1894, p. 6; "Suburbs and County," *Baltimore Sun*, February 10, 1894, p. 8.
20. "Real Estate – Baltimore County," *Baltimore Sun*, January 15, 1894, p. 9.
21. "The Poles New Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, April 2, 1894, p. 8.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Maryland General Assembly, *Session Laws*, 1894, chapter 596, approved April 6, 1894, 914–19, MSA.
25. Land Records – Baltimore County, Liber LMB 210, Folio 100, May 31, 1894.
26. "Patriotic Poles: They Celebrate Kosciuszko's Unsuccessful Struggle," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 4, 1894.
27. Ibid.
28. Land Records – Baltimore County, Liber LMB 205, Folio 371, 375; June 22, 1894; Minutes, June 4, 18, 1894, Box 1, Series V. Banking – Subseries C. Kosciuszko Permanent Loan & Saving Association, Archives of Maryland Polonia Collection, University of Baltimore (hereafter UBA); "From the Lives of Poles in America," *Dziennik Chicagoski*, July 26, 1894, translated by William F. Hoffman.
29. "The Independent Church in Baltimore," *Jutrzenka*, July 25, 1894.
30. David Whitten, "The Depression of 1893," EH.Net Encyclopedia, Edited by Robert Whaples. August 14, 2001. <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-depression-of-1893/>.
31. "The Village of New Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 26, 1894, p. 8; "Business Troubles," *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1894; "Business Troubles: Receivership Asked for the New Warsaw Land Company," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, October 26, 1894.
32. "Village of Warsaw: C. M. Emrich Denies Charges Made in the Petition Filed," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 27, 1894, p. 7.
33. "New Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 26, 1894, p. 8; "Business Troubles," *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1894; "Business Troubles," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, October 26, 1894.

34. "Application for a Receiver Dismissed," *Baltimore Sun*, November 15, 1894; "New Warsaw is Solvent," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, November 14, 1894, p. 3; Land Records – Baltimore County, Liber LMB, Folio 395; June 22, 1894.
35. "Superior Court," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 25, 1894, p. 7. Judge Ritchie presided and ruled that the judgment was by default extended under the act of 1886.
36. "Only 7,000 Dollars," *Jutrzenka*, November 7, 1894.
37. "The Hamburg-American Packet Company," *New York Times*, May 28, 1895.
38. "Another New Town," *Baltimore Sunday Morning Herald*, July 21, 1895, p. 8.
39. "Delegate to the Polish Convention," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, July 17, 1895, p. 2; "Polish Democrats' Picnic," *ibid.*, July 29, 1895, p. 8; "Poles Endorse Hurst," *ibid.*, August 16, 1895, p. 5; "Polish National Alliance," *ibid.*, September 4, 1895, p. 6; "Political Gossip: Polish Voters," *Baltimore Sun*, September 4, 1895, p. 8; "All Must Be Catholics," *St. Paul [Minnesota] Daily Globe*, September 14, 1895, p. 4. At the Polish National Alliance Convention that Welzant attended as a delegate from Baltimore, he was elected as one of the organization's national officers. "A Daily Polish Newspaper," *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1895, p. 10; "Democratic Poles," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 24, 1895, p. 2; "Campaign Talk," *Baltimore Sun*, November 1, 1895, p. 1.
40. "Mr. Welzant Missing: He Was Leader of the Polish Colony in Many Enterprises," *Baltimore Sun*, December 12, 1895, p. 8; "Mr. Welzant's Absence: Nothing Has Been Heard From Him for Ten Days," *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, December 12, 1895; "Versatile Man Missing," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 13, 1895, p. 1; "With Other People's Cash: Welzant, a Hustling Baltimore Business Man, Reported Missing," *Morning Times*, Washington, D.C., December 13, 1895, p. 1; "A Polish Pooh Bah Decamps: Leaving \$30,000 Worth of Liabilities and Anxious Compatriots Behind," *Norfolk Virginian*, December 13, 1895, p. 1; "Had An Eye To Business: The Leader of the Baltimore Poles Is Now Missing," *Birmingham [Alabama] Age*, December 13, 1895; "Baltimore Banker Missing: He Was Interested in Numerous Enterprises and Enjoyed the Confidence of All," *The Times*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 13, 1895, p. 1.
41. "Condensed Dispatches," *Washington Post*, December 14, 1895, p. 8.
42. "George Welzant's Effects: Sold at Public Auction Yesterday Afternoon," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, January 8, 1896, p. 9. Welzant's property in New Warsaw apparently reverted to the county commissioners of Baltimore County, this based on two real estate transactions: the first was two lots at Warsaw, Fifteenth District sold to Leo Wysiecki for \$68.78 ("Real Estate – Baltimore County," *Baltimore Sun*, December 11, 1908, p. 8); and to the Owners' Realty Company of Baltimore City, ten lots s.w.s. Krakau Ave., \$1.00 (*Baltimore Sun*, April 7, 1909, p. 8).
43. "The Last of the Welzants Disappear," *Baltimore Sun*, July 3, 1896, p. 8; "Mrs. Welzant Disappears: Believed to Have Joined Her Husband in New York," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, July 4, 1896, p. 8; "Whereabouts of Welzant: The Ex-Leader of the Polish Colony Here, Who Disappeared, Is in the Transvaal," *Baltimore Sun*, September 18, 1896, p. 10; "He's In South Africa: George Welzant Says He Will Return in Time and Pay His Debts," *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 18, 1896.
44. "He's in Johannesburg: George Welzant, of Baltimore, Trading Among the Boers – His Wife is with Him," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, September 18, 1895, p. 2. Welzant and his family returned to the U.S. in 1898 because of the impending war between the Boers and British that began the following year. The *Baltimore Morning Herald* reported on October 12, 1898 that he was in Brooklyn, New York, where he owned a hotel. The *Dziennik Chicagoski* carried a

brief item on September 5, 1899 that he had visited Baltimore and was cordially received by his friends and acquaintances from early days."

45. Circuit Court No. 2, Baltimore City, Docket 5-A, Page 181, Year 1896, Summary - 24th June 1896. Bill of Complaint and for the Appointment of a receiver and Exhibits C.M.E. Nos. 1 and 2 pd. Subpoena issued [Summoned, *Omnes*] 26th June 1896. Order of publication. Pd. Copy issued. -15th August 1896. Certificate of publication. Pd. - 3 October 1896. Decree of *pro confesso* against all the defendants and directing the examiner to take testimony - pd. (Carr) 6th April 1897, Decree of *pro confesso* against all the defendants and directing the examiner to take testimony - pd. (Carr) pf. 7 May 1897, Order of reference (Buer) pd. 12th May 1897, Report of Auditor and Master, pd. Same day, Decree setting aside Agreement. (Exhibit CME No. 1) and appointing Frances E. Pegram [Clayton Emrich's lawyer] Receiver of the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company of Baltimore City &c. pd., MSA.

46. "Work at Wagner's Point," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, April 11, 1897, part 2, p. 14.

47. "For St. Adalbert's Church," *Baltimore Sun*, May 19, 1897, p. 9. The church was completed and dedicated on November 24, 1907 ("Cardinal at Dedication," *Baltimore Sun*, November 25, 1897, p. 12).

48. "Unsolved Murder Mysteries: Some of the Tragedies that Have Engaged the Attention of the Baltimore County Authorities - Few of the Victims Have Been Identified - Back River Has Been Witness to Many of Them - A Ghastly Find in the Woods," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, January 3, 1897, p. 14; "Unknown Woman Killed on the Rail," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, August 16, 1897, p. 9; "Woman's Body Identified," *Baltimore Sun*, August 17, 1897, p. 7; "Killed Near Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, March 10, 1898, p. 3.

49. Ibid., "Death Due to Their Own Negligence: Verdict of the Jury of Inquest in the Tragedy at Back River - Company Exonerated," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 25, 1901, p. 11; "Sad End," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 24, 1901, p. 1.

50. "Crushed by a Train," *Baltimore Sun*, June 24, 1901, p. 12.

51. Ibid.; "Sad End of a Pleasure Trip," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 24, 1901, p. 1; "Crushed by a Train"; "Death Due to Their Own Negligence."

52. The *Maryland Gazetteer*, 1906-1907, "The Cities, Villages, and Post Offices of the State..."

53. "Real Estate - Baltimore County," *Baltimore Sun*, October 18, 1907, p. 8; Davidson, Isabel, "History of Essex - Past and Present, 1750-1908," *Real Stories from Baltimore County History*, Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Tradition Press, 1967; "Deaths - Mr. George W. Welzant," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 20, 1908; "Deaths," *Baltimore World*, May 20, 1908.

54. "Private Acts - Chapter 618," *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 483, 1908, p. 1467, MSA.

55. "Land Held With Guns: Two Countians Refuse to Permit Bridge Work, Ignore Railroad Injunction - Sheriff to Advance Toward Back River Head Today to Enforce Court's Order," *Baltimore Sun*, November 26, 1914, p. 10.

56. "Chesaco Park Couple Celebrate 59th Wedding Anniversary in Historic Farm Home," *Jeffersonian* [Towson, Maryland], March 15, 1940.

57. "A Friendly Neighborhood - Community Located on Back River," *Baltimore American*, May 4, 1968.



The tombstone marking the grave of Paul Placide, New Cathedral Cemetery, Baltimore, Md. (Photograph by James Singewald, Maryland Historical Society.)

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The Case of the Catholic Know-Nothings

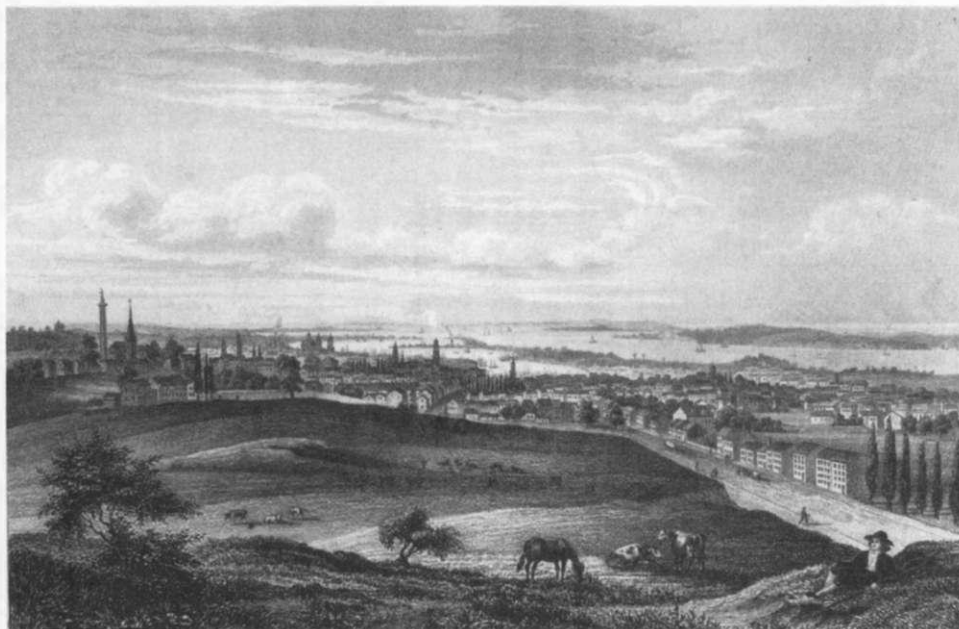
TRACY MATTHEW MELTON

On a dewy Halloween morning in 2011, I roamed among the fallen leaves and stone markers in New Cathedral Cemetery. My presence in the West Baltimore cemetery owed not to any All Hallow's mischief; rather it arose from my historical research on Irish Catholicism. I was cataloguing Irish symbols and references on the grave markers in the older sections of the cemetery. Suddenly a familiar name looked up from a broken gravestone in the grass. I halted mid-step and silently asked, "Paul Placide, what are you doing here?"

By 2011, my acquaintance with Paul D. Placide traced back almost two decades, to when I had begun to research the rowdy clubs that had generated unprecedented levels of violence on Baltimore streets in the 1850s. That research had resulted in a book, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*. Contemporary newspaper stories linked Placide to Henry Gambrill, James Morgan, Joseph Creamer, and Ras Levy—infamous members of the Plug Uglies, Rip Raps, and Regulators. Those clubs lorded over their neighborhood streets and developed alliances with local party politicians who could offer patronage and protection in exchange for their muscle at meetings and conventions, and at the polls. Scores of men died in the resulting political violence. Placide himself had gained national notoriety when Democratic newspaper publisher Henry M. Fitzhugh shot and wounded him after Placide and some associates attacked Fitzhugh's office in retaliation for an offending story about their exploits. My surprise at finding Placide in New Cathedral, among so many deceased Irish Catholic refugees of the Great Famine, and their children and grandchildren, traced to his Plug Ugly associates' affiliation with the American Party. They were avowedly anti-foreign, anti-Catholic Know-Nothings. How had this Know-Nothing come to rest in a Catholic cemetery?

Two days later, the Placide question gained momentum in my thoughts when I came across a grave marker for James Morgan, who had died in December 1894. A

Tracy Matthew Melton is the author of Hanging Henry Gambrill: The Violent Career of Baltimore's Plug Uglies, 1854–1860 (Maryland Historical Society, 2005).



Pennsylvania Avenue, 1837. (Lithograph, Moses Swett, Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society.)

James Morgan, together with John R. English, had put together the Plug Uglies and had continued to work as a cigar maker in the same Baltimore neighborhood into the 1890s. Was this New Cathedral James Morgan the Plug Ugly James Morgan? Now there were perhaps two Know-Nothings whom I had written about buried in New Cathedral. That would possibly make three Catholic Know-Nothings among the same rowdy crowd. As I had noted in *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, Peter Corrie, a participant in perhaps the most sensational Know-Nothing homicide of the era, was, oddly enough, the son of a local family with strong Catholic ties. When I had opportunity, I began investigating the mystery of the Catholic Know-Nothings. Who were the Catholic Know-Nothings? Why were they Catholic Know-Nothings? Eventually the pursuit of answers to these questions led to some larger ones: What do their lives reveal about nineteenth-century Baltimore? What does the pursuit of their lives reveal about writing history?

Research quickly opened a remarkable window into "Plug Ugly" Peter Corrie's respectable upbringing and Catholic ties. His family resided on Hanover Street, directly across from the Hanover Market and just a couple of blocks west of the Basin (Inner Harbor). His father James Corrie had emigrated from Dumfries, Scotland, early in the nineteenth century and settled in Baltimore, where he worked as a carpenter and building contractor. Most notably, he worked on the landmark Battle Monument on Calvert Street, which commemorated victory over the British in 1814. James and his wife Catherine (Ely) raised eleven children in their bustling waterfront neighborhood. James was much older than Catherine, his second wife,

Peter Corrie, as pictured in the National Police Gazette, April 9, 1859. (Courtesy, Wayne R. Schaumburg.)



and turned seventy in the mid-1830s. The aging builder and his wife opened a tavern in their house around this time, and she eventually took charge of it. In 1844, the *Sun*, giving some sense of the working nature of their harbor-front neighborhood, reported that a runaway horse and cart belonging to a butcher at the market “tore away the awning posts and awning before the tavern of Mrs. Corrie, and those before the barber’s shop adjoining.” In those decades, respectable married and widowed Baltimore women like Catherine Corrie often worked in household taverns, shops, and boarding houses, or sold produce and other goods in local markets.¹

Peter Corrie, like many other antebellum Baltimore children, lived not only within a large nuclear family but also within a large extended one. The Corries most closely associated and worked with the Gill family, which resided a little farther up Hanover Street. Bryson Gill had moved to Baltimore a few years after James Corrie and had married a second time to Catherine’s sister Teresa (Ely). In the 1820s, Bryson worked first as a turner and then as a furniture maker, his Hanover Street firm advertising fancy chairs and cabinets. He also practiced dentistry and eventually gave up furniture making for a medical practice that offered leeching, bleeding, cupping, and dentistry and retailed European and American leeches. Teresa Gill, like her sister Catherine, worked with her husband. Margaret J. Mettee, another Ely sister, offered cupping and leeching at the same location shortly after Bryson and Teresa moved over to Sharp Street in 1846. The Gills’ sons also took up dentistry and dental surgery. James Corrie Jr. learned the same trade from his uncle, aunt, and cousins. A gathering revolution would remake the medical profession during this century and the next, with Baltimore dentists and doctors especially important contributors to the process, but young men like James Corrie could still learn surgery in Bryson Gill’s small office.²



Mother Mary Jerome Ely. (Courtesy, Archives, Sisters of Charity of New York.)

After James Corrie Sr. died in October 1849, his widow Catherine and youngest children Lavinia and George, together with the oldest Corrie daughter Margaret (Dunlap), moved into the Gill household. Catherine later moved over to German (Redwood) Street. The Corrie children followed respectable trades, often learned from family members. James Corrie Jr. learned dentistry and medicine in the Gills' office. Peter Corrie, the ninth child, lived with his older sister Theresa ("Tressie"), and worked for her husband George H. Wilson, a butcher on Pennsylvania Avenue in the northwest corner of the city. A decade after her husband's death, Catherine claimed that he had left her with eleven children but "with means to maintain and educate them." "Under the providence of God," she continued, "I have done for them the best I could." Her youngest son George had by that time died at only fifteen years old, but she felt proud of the remaining ten children, "six of them respectably married, and now, with their families, located in different parts of the Union."³

The family had extensive ties to the Catholic Church establishment. Catherine and Teresa's sister Mary had been received into Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton's Sisters of Charity in Emmitsburg. She had gone to New York and eventually become superior of the New York Sisters of Charity. During the 1840s and 1850s, Mother Mary Jerome Ely headed the Academy of Mount St. Vincent. Archbishop John Hughes deeply involved himself in the Sisters of Charity's affairs, and his successor, Cardinal John McCloskey, had a close relationship with the Ely sister. "Cardinal McCloskey had a warm friendship for the venerable Sister of Charity, and often visited her, appreciating her gifts of intellect, her energy, and the schemes of benevolence and education which she was active in planning." One niece was also a member of the convent, and Lavinia, the fun-loving youngest Corrie child, attended Mount St. Vincent for four years during the early 1850s. While there, she sometimes would "dance down

Lavinia Marie Corrie Gary, 1856. (Lillian Gary Memories, c.1943, Accession # 5231-f, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.)



the halls singing, 'I won't be a nun/I'll never be a nun/I'm too fond of pleasure/I'll never be a nun.'" Lavinia's older sister Tressie, butcher George H. Wilson's wife, "was a devout Catholic" who regularly attended services at the Baltimore Cathedral. Their cousin Eli A. Gill would head the Cathedral's Gregorian choir.⁴

Lavinia's marriage also suggested that Catherine Corrie and her children had a respectable reputation. James Albert Gary took an interest in Lavinia. He was the son of wealthy Maryland manufacturer James S. Gary, who owned a substantial cotton textile mill at Alberton (formerly Elysville, later Daniels), west of Baltimore on the Patapsco River. Their daughter Lillian later described their 1856 engagement:

Father had to go on a Southern trip, to buy cotton I suppose. He was spending his last evening with Mother. There was another man in the parlor, and Mother was singing, and paying Father but scant attention. He outstayed his rival, + said to Mother, 'Tomorrow morning I take an early train for the South, you will marry me, and go with me, or I will never see you again.' Mother said no use explaining, he meant it. I went upstairs, awakened mother, electrified her by saying 'I am going to marry Albert Gary tomorrow morning, and go South with him.'"

Albert Gary and Lavinia Corrie married in November 1856. Within a few years, the couple was living on Lombard Street with several small children and summering at a Gary family country estate, the Meadows, outside Baltimore.⁵

Catherine Corrie's youngest boys George and Peter had more tragic lives. George, the youngest, died in April 1857. According to Lillian, "They were devoted playmates,



Officer Robert Rigdon. National Police Gazette, April 16, 1859. (Courtesy, Wayne R. Schaumburg.)

mother + her Brother.” The family held the boy’s funeral at Catherine’s residence at 177 German Street. By this time, Peter Corrie had spent several years as a butcher, working just blocks away on Pennsylvania Avenue. He had been away from the city for a while but had recently returned. The Avenue, where it entered the city, was home to extensive butchering operations. It ran out to the rich Maryland and Pennsylvania farmland northwest of the city, providing neighborhood butchers a ready supply of cattle and livestock. Yet the location on the city’s outskirts kept the foul smells and objectionable waste of their operations a little removed from more crowded neighborhoods. Local butchers knew Peter Corrie as a familiar figure around their Pennsylvania Avenue slaughterhouses over most of the 1850s.⁶

On September 22, 1858, Benjamin Benton, a police officer, died from a gunshot wound to the head while attempting, with other officers, to haul several Plug Uglies to the station house. Police took Henry Gambrill, a Plug Ugly who had grown up in the neighborhood, into custody. That November, a jury convicted Gambrill of first-degree murder for the crime. The conviction rested largely on Officer Robert M. Rigdon’s testimony that he saw Gambrill fire the fatal shot. That same evening, an assassin shot Rigdon down as he leaned against the fireplace mantle in his house. Immediately after the shot, Corrie ran from the alley adjoining Rigdon’s house. Rip Rap Marion Cropp was right behind him. Officers and neighborhood residents attracted by the shot grabbed Corrie. They battered and bloodied him, and a shot fired point-blank at Corrie’s head put a pistol ball through his cap. Rigdon lived on Baltimore Street, very close to 177 German, where Dr. James Corrie lived with his family, including his mother Catherine. James Corrie later described hearing the shot that killed Rigdon. He was:

at home the night of the death of Rigdon; was sitting in the farthest room back of his house, reading the Bible to his wife, when he heard several shots; ran to the door, his wife behind him; when his foot touched the pavement saw an officer turn the southwest corner of Penn and German streets, going down Penn street; witness ran on in the same direction without hat or coat, just before he got to the corner he heard another report of a pistol from Penn street . . . he saw a man with two or three officers; when within ten feet of him he recognized his brother as he raised his head, he was then bleeding.⁷

Police soon after arrested Marion Cropp, and both Corrie and Cropp faced charges of murdering Rigdon. Newspapers closely covered Rigdon's sensational murder and directly linked it to the crisis of violence that accompanied the surging influence of the political clubs. They also painted Peter Corrie as a Plug Ugly. Catherine Corrie responded in a letter to *New York Herald* publisher James Gordon Bennett, the same letter in which she defended her parenting and her children's character. "You would not intentionally add to the miserable suffering of an afflicted family," she appealed to Bennett, "upon whom a heavy calamity has unexpectedly fallen." She called reports that Peter was a dissipated drunk and a member of the Plug Uglies "utterly erroneous." She sought nothing less than to save her son's life: "All I desire is that he may not be hurried to an ignominious death through the instrumentality of statements having no foundation in fact, and seriously calculated to mislead and influence the public mind."⁸

Corrie's involvement in such a heinous act was somewhat anomalous. Unlike Cropp, he had not been among the well-known young rowdies publicly connected to the city's political clubs. But Corrie had lived on or near Pennsylvania Avenue for most of a decade. Some witnesses at his trial asserted that he had chummed around with the Plug Ugly crowd, although the motivation for their testimony was suspect. Statements attributed to Corrie suggested that his involvement might have traced to his personal feelings for his neighborhood friend Henry Gambrill. Earlier on the night of Rigdon's murder, a drunken Corrie had met Rigdon on the street and said, "By God, Gambrill is an innocent man." Perhaps referring to the Plug Uglies, Corrie told another man, "His friends say what they will do, but I will do more than any of them." Feelings of friendship and some alcohol-fueled courage, and perhaps some manipulation and duplicity, had seemingly compelled him into a violent conspiracy at odds with his previous peaceful behavior. In January, a jury found Corrie and Cropp guilty of first-degree murder. They would take their place alongside Henry Gambrill on the gallows.⁹

During the weeks leading up to their execution, Corrie received spiritual guidance from Rev. Thomas Foley. Reverend Foley, the son of a proud Irish Catholic immigrant, was a prominent member of the local Catholic clergy. He would later serve as coadjutor bishop of Chicago. Peter Corrie's own religious beliefs and practices

are not knowable, but Foley was a natural spiritual advisor for the son of a devout Catholic mother and nephew of Mother Mary Jerome Ely. Foley was close to Madge Preston, the wife of Peter's lawyer William P. Preston, a family friend, and certainly to Peter's sister Tressie, with whom the condemned man had lived on Pennsylvania Avenue. Tressie would have known Foley from the Cathedral, where she worshipped. On April 8, Gambrill, Cropp, and Corrie, together with another man convicted of an unrelated murder, died on the gallows. Corrie's funeral "took place privately from his brother's residence, German street. . . . Rev. Mr. Foley, his spiritual advisor while in prison, officiated, and none but the intimate friends of the family accompanied the remains to their last resting place in the Cathedral burying ground." Catherine Corrie moved in with her son Daniel in Richmond, perhaps to remove herself from the shadow of her son's ignominious death.¹⁰

Catherine returned to Baltimore and moved in with her daughter Lavinia W. Gary's family. In 1872, the Gary family moved from Lombard Street to a splendid Bolton Hill mansion at the corner of Linden Avenue and Dolphin Street. Lavinia's daughter Lillian later wrote of Catherine, "Grandmother came to live with us, she was always in the garden, + busy with flowers. I always associate flowers with her." Albert Gary built a conservatory for Catherine's flowers. When she died in February 1876, "Her coffin stood in the parlor, with pots of calla-lilies brought down from her conservatory to be near her. It was in March [*sic*] and the lilies were blooming." Catholic priests celebrated a requiem mass at the Church of the Immaculate Conception.¹¹

Quests can be winding and unpredictable, with false turns and dead ends. Research into Peter Corrie's Catholicism suddenly opened up a wide vista on nineteenth-century Baltimore. Unfortunately, research on Plug Ugly James Morgan was less fruitful, though the effort generated an enhanced understanding of the local landscape. Historical and genealogical researchers have a much easier task when working with family names like Corrie and Placide than more common ones like Morgan. Two Placide families lived in the United States in this decade, one in Baltimore and one in New Orleans. In contrast, how many Morgan families would a historian find? How many Morgan males would have the common male name James? In fact, several James Morgans lived in Baltimore during the last half of the nineteenth century. Unraveling their identities became an exercise akin to putting together a jigsaw puzzle or solving a Sudoku puzzle, where one piece, or one number, can suddenly make sense of an entire image, or a whole pattern of numbers.

In the mid-1850s, Plug Ugly James Morgan, together with John English and a couple of other disgruntled New Market Company firemen, carried enough weight on the streets to attract a following around Pennsylvania Avenue. As early as 1850, witnesses implicated Morgan in the murder of a fire company rival. A party of New Market firemen gunned down their rival at the intersection of Hanover and Lombard Streets, where, coincidentally, Bryson Gill and his family had long practiced dentistry

"Mrs. Gary with her sister Aunt Tressie and granddaughter and namesake Lavinia James on the porch of the Summit," undated. (Lillian Gary Memories, University of Virginia.)



and medicine. After the Mount Vernon Hook-and-Ladder Company established a house on Biddle Street between Pennsylvania Avenue and Ross Street (Druid Hill Avenue) in 1854, Morgan, English, and a few fellow rowdies joined the company and entered a bitter rivalry with their old New Market associates. In English's tavern adjacent to the Mount Vernon house, they claimed the nickname "Plug Uglies."¹²

Research in census records, city directories, newspaper articles, obituaries, and death certificates established that several James Morgans lived in Baltimore during the 1850s and the decades following. The record showed that the James Morgan in New Cathedral was not Plug Ugly James Morgan. New Cathedral James Morgan was instead an Irish Famine immigrant from County Louth. In Baltimore, he worked for more than four decades as a stonemason, and, with his wife Mary, raised several children. Mary Morgan kept a grocery at the family's house on Forrest Street in Old Town. Like so many other Irish Catholic famine refugees settling in Baltimore, they had been buried in New Cathedral. If this was not Plug Ugly James Morgan, could I confirm that the Know-Nothing rowdy was an American-born Protestant, as one might expect? The task proved difficult. Not surprisingly, the name turned up often in the sources. Fortunately, I had a trade—cigar making—and knew where he lived in the 1850s.

My puzzle solving showed that Plug Ugly James Morgan continued to live in Baltimore for decades after the Civil War. Through the war and the years immediately after, he appears in city directories as living on Ross (Druid Hill) and working

as a boatman at the Baltimore City Yard. The job was a patronage position, which demonstrated some lingering political influence. He and his wife Eliza moved to nearby Oxford Street and later to Myrtle Street and then Argyle Avenue, all in the same neighborhood. He occasionally held patronage positions, though city directories and census pages generally show him as a cigar maker. James and Eliza had no children, at least none surviving long enough to appear in the census record. Eliza contributed to the family's income. In their house, she kept a shop that different city directories describe as a confectionary, grocery, and variety store. In July 1893, a Baltimore County doctor removed a pistol ball from James's arm. "The ball had lodged under the tendons of the arm and had caused the fingers to contract, so that Mr. Morgan could not work at his trade of cigar-making." He had received it almost four decades earlier in a Know-Nothing street fight. About this time, James and Eliza disappear from the public record. No Baltimore death certificate was found. Census records show James was a native Marylander, but his religious affiliation could not be determined.¹³

If Plug Ugly James Morgan's subsequent decades in his Pennsylvania Avenue neighborhood left little record, Paul Placide's much briefer life resulted in one remarkable collection, which revealed the most intimate details of his personal life. Placide gained notoriety among the political rowdies in the city in the 1850s. As early as 1855 he faced charges for fracturing a watchman's skull with a billy club. The following year, police arrested Placide and Henry Gambrill for beating a man in a house on Pennsylvania Avenue. Over the next three years, an officer arrested Placide for drawing a gun and attempting to shoot the police, and newspaper reports linked Placide to well-known American Party rowdies. A party that included Placide allegedly wrecked the *Republican* newspaper office. Reports claimed his involvement in an attack on the *Exchange* newspaper in 1858 and again in 1859. After the last attack, proprietor Henry M. Fitzhugh shot Placide when the rowdy came onto an omnibus after him. "The ball entered at the wrist and came out near the elbow." Placide later described it as "a pretty close call." He was among those tried for "cooping" voters at Ras Levy's Holliday Street tavern in 1859, the year the Plug Uglies nominated his father Henry S. Placide as their candidate for the First Branch in the Twentieth Ward. Police arrested Paul for rioting at the polls. As late as July 1861, newspapers reported him in an especially bruising fight on Holliday Street, which stemmed from differing views on the sectional conflict.¹⁴

Placide's Baltimore roots went back to the French Revolution, when his grandfather Paul Placide fled Bordeaux and his grandmother Louisa Duvernois fled Paris for America. Paul came from a Huguenot family, and the young French émigrés married at the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore in 1797. Paul Placide, the grandfather, long conducted a cooperage on Buchanan's wharf, at the foot of Frederick Street. Louisa died in 1818 and Paul in 1829. Their son Henry S. Placide, born in Baltimore in 1800, took over the cooperage and married Susan Eliza Smith

Daly. Susan was originally from Virginia and claimed to be a descendant of Pocahontas. The couple long attended Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church South. They had several children, including Paul D. Placide. The family moved to Madison Avenue in the mid-1850s and remained there for many decades. They would eventually live in a spacious house at 319 (renumbered 1300) Madison, on the corner of Lanvale Street. The initial move to Madison Avenue, at number 251, had put Paul Placide, then about twenty-one, among the Plug Uglies.¹⁵

In August 1862, Placide enlisted for three years as a private in Company I of the Fourth Maryland Infantry Regiment. Other well-known American Party politicians and rowdies served in this Union regiment. Rip Rap leader Gregory Barrett Jr. had joined the regiment as a captain only a few days before. Barrett, the son of Irish immigrants, lived on the same side of town as Henry Gambrill, James Morgan, and Paul Placide. His neighborhood associations apparently had more influence in shaping his politics than his family background. Barrett established himself as a leading American Party operative in the closing years of the 1850s. "Young, strong and an athlete," one associate later described him, recalling those years, "with an unlimited amount of physical courage, he was a man whom men loved to follow, even then." Plug Ugly Louis A. Carl joined as a captain a few weeks later and would command Placide's Company I. Baltimore Americans (Know-Nothings) tended to support the Union, although personal opinions and circumstances sometimes resulted in Confederate loyalties. The Placide house on Madison Avenue itself was a divided one. Paul's brother Robert served in the Confederate First Maryland Cavalry. Their mother Susan was, after all, a Virginia native.¹⁶

Paul Placide spent much of the war in Baltimore and Washington, partly on medical leave and partly as a deserter. In January 1863, he was admitted to the army hospital at Steuart's mansion (Jarvis Hospital) in Baltimore with chronic diarrhea. He apparently took the opportunity to visit with family and friends. On February 5, Surgeon H. E. Goodman reported him as a deserter, but a few weeks later the report was corrected. Ironically, he had been absent from the hospital because of "sickness" and had instead been at his family's house at 255 Madison. Placide remained at the hospital but went missing again a few months later. Provost marshal police arrested him in Washington in September. He escaped but was arrested again in the capital the following month and taken back to the hospital where he remained under custody. That December, Capt. Louis A. Carl, the old Plug Ugly, intervened on behalf of his soldier and old political friend. Carl wrote Gen. John R. Kenly requesting that Placide "be restored to his Company for duty, he being willing to pay the apprehension fee of Thirty Dollars." He was restored, and, during the last year of the war, his military career took a more auspicious turn. In August 1864, Placide received promotion to sergeant and two months later to sergeant major. That November, on regimental commander Col. Richard N. Bowerman's recommendation, the army commissioned him as a first lieutenant in the same company.¹⁷

Recollections of Placide's service describe a powerful, bold man, given to drinking, but plagued by illness. "When he stripped for admission to service," a hospital steward recalled, "he was a strong looking muscular man." The steward had known him by reputation: "He was a tough character. He was a shooter. He was a drinker, but I could not say that he was a drunkard." One soldier, an old friend who had gone to school with him, later stated, "I do know that Placide drank very heavy during our service. He used to carouse about at night." Another claimed, "My watch was stolen, and I afterwards found that Placide had pawned it at Harper's Ferry for whisky. He was dissipated during service, and was a very wild tough man." Colonel Bowerman generally agreed but was less condemnatory: "Placide was a dissipated man before service, and during service he was a little wild and at time dissipated, but not much out of the usual run." During the Union raid on the Weldon Railroad in December 1864, Bowerman placed Placide in command of the "flankers." On the march, the colonel learned that "Placide's boots had given out, and that with bleeding feet he was marching in the snow." He had him taken away in an ambulance. Placide mustered out in May 1865.¹⁸

After the war, Placide resumed his political activities in Baltimore. During the 1866 campaign season, he involved himself with Conservatives contending with Radicals for control of Maryland politics. Among the Conservatives were former Union soldiers and sailors who aligned themselves with President Andrew Johnson's policies and against those of Radical Republicans. In September, they organized a mass meeting in support of the National Union Convention held in Philadelphia a few weeks earlier. Baltimore organizers included prominent politicians and military officers and Fourth Regiment officers like Richard N. Bowerman, Louis Carl, and Paul Placide. Besides Carl and Placide, former Plug Uglies James Wardell and Wesley Woodward also participated in the movement.¹⁹

An incredibly rich source reveals a great deal about his private affairs during these years. Paul Placide married Louisa E. Hartjens [Hartgens], and within a few years the couple had four children. The marriage would give Louisa a widow's claim on his pension following his death. Her pension claim, and the controversy surrounding it, generated numerous affidavits and depositions from doctors, friends, and family members who could testify regarding the impact of his service on his health, and her right to the pension. Ulterior motivations shaped much of the testimony—some deponents supported her claim, others opposed it—but, sifting through it, much of Placide's private life comes into focus.

Paul was acquainted with Louisa's mother and father before the war, when she was just a young girl. Her parents, Christopher and Mary, were German immigrants. The couple had kept a series of groceries on the west side of town, including on Pennsylvania Avenue, and then had run a series of taverns in the same neighborhood. Mary eventually provided two depositions in Louisa's pension case, asserting in both that Paul had been healthy before the war and sick after. "She and her husband

kept a large Restaurant and eating house on Fayette Street opposite McClellan's Alley Baltimore Md," a clerk recorded, "and Paul Placide was an almost daily visitor to the house, frequently taking his meals there, very intimate with him." Louisa had been born in January 1852 and was only ten when Paul enlisted. Paul came by during the war, and after as well. Louisa did not remember knowing him until the summer of 1867: "My first acquaintance with him was 11 months before I married him. I went away with Mr. Placide to Philadelphia and was married there July 10/68, to him, by an Alderman." According to Louisa, "Mother knew him well, long before I ever had an idea of marrying him. He was much older than me, + I had no idea then that he would ever marry me."²⁰

Paul's burial in New Cathedral resulted from this event. "On our return, my father who was a devout Catholic was not satisfied with that, + we were again married by Father [Thomas] Foley, at the Cathedral in this City, February 17, 1869." Reverend Foley was the same Catholic priest who had acted as Peter Corrie's spiritual advisor. At the cathedral, Foley baptized their first two sons, Henry Hartjens and Charles Jennings, and Rev. John Dougherty the third son William Stirling. Redemptorist Reverend Adam Petri baptized the youngest child, a daughter, Louisa Dorothea ("Lula") at St. Alphonsus' Church. The oldest boy, known as Harry, was born in March 1869 and Lula in September 1874. Paul himself converted to Catholicism. "As Paul died a convert to the Cath[olic] Church," Louisa averred, "Paul wanted to [be] buried from the Cathedral."²¹

Louisa's nationality and religion caused a rift within the Placide family. According to a family chambermaid, "Mr. Placide's people hated Mrs. P. because she was German." Louisa later claimed that Paul's mother "had warned me that she would make me suffer for having induced him to be a Catholic." After his death, "Both she + Mrs. Dunleavy [Dunlevy] refused to go to the funeral + said they wouldn't step foot in the place [the Cathedral]." Mrs. Dunlevy was Paul's sister Louisa. His other sister, Susan, displayed great disdain for Louisa E. Placide when brought into the pension case. The special pension examiner recorded, "The witness here refused to answer further or to sign this statement . . . saying she would have nothing to do with it, that she didn't care anything about it, and had nothing to do with the parties concerned."²²

Paul worked at a series of patronage jobs and eventually took over the family cooperage. His family's prominence and political experience gave him an acquaintance with numerous Baltimore politicians. His wife Louisa summed up his patronage career. Before their marriage, he was lobbying for a place at the Custom House, the prime source of federal jobs, and got one after. "When he lost that as different men went in, he became weighing clerk at Tobacco Warehouse No. 5, + then at No. 2, + after that he was U.S. Gauger." His brother Henry had long held the appointment as gauger of liquors, in addition to running the family cooperage, but he died in October 1870. Paul got his position as gauger the next week. Paul also partnered with

his brothers Jennings and Robert in the Placide cooperage. His landlord described Paul's work in these years. "He was employed as a watchman for the Custom House, principally watching vessels. He was a night watchman. I used to say to him, 'Paul you are in no condition to go out,' + he would reply that he had to make a living for his family." When asked how long Paul worked, Louisa replied, "Until he died. He crawled there, when he wasn't able to go."²³

These descriptions hint at Paul's horrible physical distress in these years. He had gastrointestinal and lung ailments. Everyone commented on a severe cough that had developed at least by the Civil War. The Placides' chambermaid reported, "Mr. Placide's water was always cloudy. It had a red settlement in it. It used to stain the bottom of the vessel because I had to use ashes to clean it." John T. Clark had been a friend before the war and knew Paul after. "I frequently saw him make water, and it was very red, and was full of what looked like brick dust." Louisa recalled his diarrhea, a condition that had plagued him during the war. "He had diarrhea all the time, from the time we were married. It was a great annoyance to me. He would have those spells come on him, + soil his clothes without knowing." For relief, he attempted many remedies. During the war, a hospital steward had made belladonna plasters for his chest and witnessed Paul using "chloride of potash gargles, and such things." His mother-in-law said he relied on patent medicines and prescriptions from a doctor. A landlady made syrups for his cough. When he died in November 1875, his death certificate listed consumption (tuberculosis) as the cause of death.²⁴

The nature of Paul's illness and the date he contracted it were important questions in the investigation of Louisa's pension claim. Did he contract it during the war? Was it caused by his service? Witnesses provided widely divergent descriptions of his health before the war and the harshness of conditions he faced in the field. One aspect of the question was the health of his family. The Placides faced a devastating number of deaths within a few years of Paul's. One doctor stated that he knew the Placides in a general way and had "always understood that several of the family died of consumption, which was a family taint." During the pension investigation, Louisa reflected, "Very few remain. Seems like when death comes, it slips right through them."²⁵

Another important question was Louisa's marital status. If she had remarried, her right to the pension would have been forfeited. Testimony suggested that she had married George H. Fulton soon after Paul's death and had later lived with another man as his common-law wife. She denied the marriage and explained that she had met Fulton six months before Paul's death, and he started coming by her house a few months afterward. "My first relation with Mr. Fulton was about 6 months after the death of Mr. Placide. Mr. Fulton, myself, and two other couples went from my house to a house about 4 squares away and had supper and wine and from there we returned to my house and the next morning I found that I had staid all night in my room with Mr. Fulton." Two months later, she realized she was in a "delicate condi-

tion." She sent for Fulton, so "I might protect my name and my children." They agreed to live together as man and wife, and in 1880 the census taker found them living together on Argyle Avenue with the four Placide children and their toddler daughter Somerville Fulton. Supporting her assertion that they had not officially married, the census records her last name as Placide. Louisa would eventually separate from Fulton, who reportedly drank heavily and was abusive. Because of the circumstances, Somerville went to live with Fulton's sister and brother-in-law.²⁶

Louisa's pension case generated a great deal of controversy, partially because of the issues involved and partially because it became entwined in a Bureau of Pensions investigation of her lawyer Charles E. Garitee. The special examination division was actively involved in "breaking up the systematically fraudulent practices of attorneys who have been named and others of their class, by which the Government has been robbed." Garitee was a target of the division. He had been a special investigator in it but had lost his commission "for acts unbecoming the service of the United States." During Louisa's pension case, the U.S. Interior Department disbarred him. He faced numerous trials for using "stool pigeons" to swear falsely on pension applications and collecting improper fees from his clients. In Louisa's case, she not only had to tell her most private affairs to federal investigators but also in the courtroom. Several of the cases resulted in juries that could not agree but seemed weighted toward conviction. The Baltimore Supreme Bench disbarred Garitee. Eventually, after years of investigation, Louisa received Paul's pension. She lived in Baltimore for decades, earning additional income by taking in boarders, and died in Baltimore County in December 1927, having survived Paul by fifty-two years.²⁷

I had set out to find why Peter Corrie, Paul Placide, and perhaps James Morgan, despite their apparent Catholicism, had participated in the Know-Nothing violence of 1850s Baltimore. The answer, for Corrie and Placide, seems rooted in their personal lives and in the family and friendship networks that they inherited and constructed. Political ideology and religious conviction exist within a distinct social geography—the masculine culture emerging in antebellum Baltimore and other American cities, where young men with little formal education often lived and worked, and drank and caroused, with large numbers of neighborhood friends and associates over many years before marriage. The friendships and antipathies that developed sometimes led them to acts and decisions that had little apparent motivation in ideas or personal faith. Peter Corrie did not end up on the gallows because of his political or religious beliefs but because of his personal relationships on Pennsylvania Avenue. While Paul Placide's own beliefs cannot be precisely determined, his most notorious political violence followed a public affront to his personal honor, and his conversion to Catholicism certainly followed his romantic interest in a desirable young woman "who induced him to be a Catholic." The personal mattered; relationships mattered.

But my research on this question revealed much more. Respectability counted for much among these Baltimoreans. It comes across in Catherine Corrie's letter to

newspaper publisher James Gordon Bennett. It is even evident in the almost complete absence of references to the executions of Henry Gambrill and Peter Corrie in public discourse in Baltimore in subsequent years. They were sons of respectable families; their executions were unfortunate; and such unpleasantries were better not dwelt upon. Newspapers and historical accounts largely ignored the executions. Even in Lillian Gary Taylor's memoirs, she described reaction to George Corrie's natural death but not his brother Peter's hanging. It also comes across in Louisa Placide's obvious distress at having to make public her private affairs. These affairs dated back almost to her childhood and included a socially embarrassing and damaging sexual encounter years earlier, when she had been a twenty-four-year-old widow with four young children and facing overt hostility from her deceased husband's family. Yet her determination to maintain her respectability is palpable. In addressing previous testimony about her visits to her sister-in-law's house to see her daughter Somerville, Louisa asserted, "I never said I had to sneak to the house to see Somerville. It is not true. I go there openly, + enter the front door, + I meet the whole family in friendly intercourse." In a turbulent and socially fluid city, respectability was a valuable commodity. Louisa's pension, for example, largely depended on her success in asserting her respectability over claims to the contrary.²⁸

The research also offered an important and unexpected glimpse at the state of medicine in Baltimore at a decisive turn in its history. For decades, Bryson Gill, his wife and sons, his sister-in-law Margaret Mettee, and nephew James Corrie Jr. offered homeopathic cures, patent medicine, and dental surgery in their busy working-class neighborhood. Although their medical practice might seem crude when viewed through a lens fashioned by modern medicine and medical technology, it would have seemed unremarkable in this place, at this time. Paul Placide relied on belladonna plasters, chloride of potash gargles, and cough syrups prepared by his landlady to deal with brutal maladies. In 1864, Lavinia's daughter Alberta Georgetta ("Daisy") Gary died of scarlet fever. To treat her, the doctor used the "old method of closed curtains, hot drinks for the poor little body burnt with fever." Five years later, eminent Drs. Nathan R. Smith and Alan P. Smith—the former professor of surgery at the University of Maryland, the latter his son and a promising surgeon—failed to save the life of Lavinia's first son Jimmie. Their diagnosis was still rooted more in culture than science: "They said inflammation of the bowels caused by being over-heated playing hop scotch, and sitting on the marble steps to cool off." In 1881, when several of the Gary children, including Lillian, suffered severe illnesses diagnosed as scarlet fever and diphtheria, Albert Gary sought an explanation as to why his family had been so heavily afflicted. Lillian believed "it was traced to our winter coats, made in rooms with diphtheria nearby."²⁹

Moreover, I did not actively seek female agency and perspective, but that's exactly what I found. The Corrie, Morgan, and Placide women took an active role in developments. Every woman encountered in my research—except Lavinia and



Gary daughters, 1896. "Top row left: sister Ida, my picture, sister Minnie in her wedding dress cut low for an evening gown. Second row left: sister Adelaide, sister Madeleine, sister Emma, and sister Josie in her début dress." (Lillian Gary Memories, University of Virginia.)

Lillian—earned income for her household. The most revealing sources are Taylor's memoirs and Louisa Placide's pension application. The Ely sisters—Catherine Corrie, Teresa Gill, Margaret Mettee, and Mother Mary Jerome Ely—emerge as dynamic, hard-working women, the first three all working to earn money for their families and playing a large role in the creation and maintenance of a large extended family, the latter a significant figure in the development of the American Catholic Church. Sisters Catherine Corrie and Mary Ely were both equally responsible for giving Catherine's daughter Lavinia the education, polish, and respectability that allowed the tavern keeper's daughter to marry advantageously and mature into a prominent member of Baltimore society. Indeed, Lavinia Gary comes across in her daughter Lillian's memoirs not only as a loving, devoted wife but also as a full partner in her husband's successful career. Lillian herself left one of the most vivid portraits of nineteenth-century Baltimore. Describing her childhood home on Lombard Street, Lillian wrote, "I remember sitting on the parlor floor behind the long lace curtains, + looking over at the University [of Maryland] wondering if they really did catch colored people to cut up in the dissecting rooms. Our servants firmly believed this; they feared to go out at night, afraid the doctors would catch them." Peter Corrie, Paul Placide, and Albert Gary made it into the newspapers, but their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters were just as prominent in developments, and often the most compelling chroniclers.³⁰

Discovery of two stone markers in a quiet cemetery had tumbled me down a researcher's rabbit hole into a living, breathing nineteenth-century Baltimore, where residents' stories were not only strange and colorful but also remarkably intertwined. Among this menagerie of families were French Huguenots and Scottish and Irish emigrants, Know-Nothings and Catholic nuns, doctors and deserters. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they often engaged in sectarian and political conflict and bitter domestic disputes. They worked hard. In the neighborhoods huddling around the busy docks, the men made cigars, crafted barrels, erected buildings, bled the ill, and amputated mangled limbs. The women often sold liquor and other goods to earn additional money for their families. The Corries stocked their households with exotic leeches and patent medicines from faraway lands and treated pestilence and chronic illness like the diseases causing misery and death among the Placides and Garys. Bleedings and bloody bedpans, belladonna plasters and vile potions, and putrid sickrooms and dolorous death scenes with lamentations and grief, oozed across brittle and dusty pages. The pervasive violence of this world was evident in Paul Placide's encounters and the removal of a pistol ball from an elderly James Morgan's arm. This violence might erupt suddenly, like when Dr. James Corrie rushed from his house when he heard gunshots, and found his brother Peter bleeding and beset by a mob. Yet the most fantastic spirit animating the historical record left by this hurly-burly world is the insistent sense of pride and striving toward lives that rise above the severest challenges. Louisa Placide faced public disgrace for becoming pregnant out of wedlock but insisted on her dignity. Catherine Corrie took pride in helping her children build secure lives and lobbied heroically to prevent her son Peter dying on the gallows. As it turned out, the original mystery of the Catholic Know-Nothings yielded a broader understanding than I had sought. It also proved a historically based reminder that people struggle similarly in our own world. And—this is important—it was great fun.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Patriot*, April 6, 1821; *Baltimore Gazette*, September 28, 1830; *New York Herald*, November 15, 1858; *Baltimore Sun*, July 23, 1844; October 30, 1849 (James Corrie obituary). See also the Corrie [Corry] family in Baltimore city directories during this period. James Corrie's oldest eight children are listed in a Maryland Chancery Court decision dated May 31, 1830: Francis, James, Margaret (married Dunlap), Samuel, Theresa (married Baltimore butcher George H. Wilson), William, Daniel, and Alexander. Children born after this date were Peter, George, and Lavinia. See William T. Brantly, (annotated by), *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the High Court of Chancery of Maryland*, vol. 2, *Containing the Second Volume of Bland's Reports* (Baltimore, 1840; reprint ed., Baltimore: M. Curlander, 1885), 486; Bryson Gill Household, 1850 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.
2. *Baltimore Patriot*, January 30, 1824; January 12, 1826; *Easton (Md.) Republican Star*, February 22, 1825; *Baltimore Gazette*, March 4, 1833; May 9, 1835; November 3, 1835; *Baltimore Sun*,

- December 13, 1837; April 1, 1839; March 6, 1845; April 21, 1846; July 6 and 14, 1846; October 14, 1846; April 16, 1847; October 31, 1848; March 8, 1876 (Bryson Gill death notice); September 1, 1881; January 23, 1889 (Dr. James Corrie death notice); October 5, 1903 (Dr. Charles M. Gill obituary); Bryson Gill Household, 1850 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and 1880 U.S. Census, Tenth Ward, Baltimore, Md. The Gills and James Corrie may have learned surgery from Henry W. Tilyard, who advertised himself as Bryson Gill's partner in 1835, Gill doing cupping and leeching, and Tilyard dental surgery, and Dr. William Cowan, who briefly occupied the Gills' old office at Hanover and Lombard in 1846. Cowan advertised, that he "had eight years experience as a Dentist, as well as a regular Medical education." See *Baltimore Sun*, November 3, 1835; July 6 and 14, 1846. The author greatly appreciates assistance generously provided by Nicholas Dorsey Christhilf, who has researched the Gill family and Dr. Bryson Gill's career. Mr. Christhilf's manuscript, "Three Generations of Baltimore Dentists: Dr. Bryson J. Gill & Sons," contains important detail on the careers of Dr. Bryson J. Gill and his sons. Most helpful was information on James Corrie's and Bryson Gill's marriages and Gill's career in furniture making and dentistry, including the fact that the instrument cabinet built by Gill belongs to the National Museum of Dentistry in Baltimore. See also the Gill family in Baltimore city directories and Lillian Gary Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 134, The Taylor Family Portfolio, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. The Taylor Family Portfolio is online at <http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/rmds/portfolio/taylor/> (accessed April–May 2013). Taylor describes James Corrie as having an unnamed first wife, who was the mother of some of the older Corrie children. On Margaret J. Mettee, see Leonard C. Mettee household, 1850 U.S. Census, Fifteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 1.
3. *Baltimore Sun*, July 22, 1844; October 30, 1849 (James Corrie Sr. death notice); April 27, 1857 (George Corrie death notice); *New York Herald*, November 15, 1858.
 4. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1885 (Mother Mary Jerome Ely obituary); *New York Herald*, April 29, 1885; Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 55–60, 173. Taylor describes Sister Anina at Mount St. Vincent as her mother's sister.
 5. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 41, 54, 171–72.
 6. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 15.
 7. *Baltimore Sun*, January 22, 1859; Tracy Matthew Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill: The Violent Career of Baltimore's Plug Uglies, 1854–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2005), 229, 238–46.
 8. *New York Herald*, November 15, 1858. Her letter is dated November 11.
 9. Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 260–61.
 10. *Baltimore Sun*, April 8 and 11, 1859; Daniel B. Corrie household, 1860 U.S. Census, Richmond, Va. See also Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, ed., *A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston 1862–1867* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987).
 11. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 66–67; *Baltimore Sun*, February 17, 1876 (Catherine Corrie death notice); November 26, 1900; November 1, 1920; December 5, 1926. Lillian's marriage and her parents' funerals years later highlight another aspect of the family's story, one with broader meaning in Baltimore history. Presbyterian ministers officiated at her wedding and at Albert's funeral in 1920 and Lavinia's in 1926. The Corrie and Gill families had attached themselves to several different Christian churches across the nineteenth century. Some members had moved toward Catholicism, others toward Protestant denominations. The Ely sisters had embraced Catholicism and carried their children into that faith. Peter Corrie died a Catholic, but his attachment had not been sufficiently strong to shape his day-to-day associations and pull him from the Plug Uglies' orbit. Lavinia, who had attended Catholic school under supervision of her aunt, Mother Mary Jerome Ely, left her church after marry-

ing a Presbyterian with New England roots. Denominational fluidity and competition were aspects of a culture generally characterized by fixity of faith. Sometimes conversions resulted from religious movements, but often from personal circumstances, especially marriages.

12. *Baltimore Sun*, January 23, 1893; Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 23–25, 31–32.
13. James Morgan, died December 7, 1894, Death Certificate #A72203, Baltimore City Death Certificates, Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis, Md.; *Baltimore Sun*, November 6, 1874 (death notice for Mary Morgan); December 8, 1894 (James Morgan obituary); James Morgan household, 1870 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and 1880 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; *Baltimore Sun*, July 22, 1893. The 1900 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md., shows an Elizabeth Morgan, a widow born about the same year as James Morgan's wife Eliza, boarding at 12 E. Madison Street. It also indicates that she had had no children, like Eliza. However, it is not clear if these are the same individual.
14. *Baltimore Sun*, July 6, 1855; July 19 and 21, 1856; July 24, 1857; September 10–11, 1857; December 7, 1857; August 13, 1858; September 25, 1858; August 3 and 27, 1859; September 15 and 29, 1859; October 13, 1859; February 10, 1860; October 8 and 24, 1860; December 28, 1860; July 15, 1861; *Baltimore Clipper*, August 3 and 27, 1859; May 30–31, 1860; *Baltimore Republican*, July 6, 1855; Deposition: William J. Carter, March 17, 1892, Special Claim #347,437, Certificate #278,806, Louisa E. Placide, widow of Paul D. Placide, First Lieutenant, Company I, Fourth Maryland Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Veterans Who Served in the Army and Navy Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C. [Hereinafter Placide Claim.]
15. Robert W. Barnes, *Biographical Data from Baltimore Newspapers, 1817–1819* (Clearfield Company; Reprint ed., Baltimore Genealogical Company, 2011), 90; *Baltimore Patriot*, April 7, 1829 (Paul Placide obituary); *Baltimore Gazette* February 28, 1832 (Mrs. Anna Placide, second wife of Paul, obituary); *Baltimore Sun*, October 18, 1848; December 15, 1855 (Ellen V. Placide obituary); August 6, 1861 (Henry F. Placide obituary); June 10, 1867 (W. Harrison Placide obituary); November 26, 1868 (Henry S. Placide death notice); October 13, 1870 (Henry B. Placide obituary); November 12, 1873 (Robert E. Placide death notice); January 12, 1885 (Susan E. S. Placide obituary); November 29, 1875 (Paul D. Placide obituary); June 20, 1896 (Jennings Placide obituary); December 31, 1910; December 20, 1929 (Susan E. Placide obituary) and December 22, 1929; *Cecil County (Md.) Whig*, July 4, 1891 (Alice (Placide) Wilmer obituary); Henry S. Placide household, 1850 U.S. Census, Fourth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and 1860 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; Susan E. Placide household, 1870 U.S. Census, Twelfth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and S.E.S. [Susan] Placide household, 1880 U.S. Census, Twelfth Ward, Baltimore, Md..
16. L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, and George W. F. Vernon, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861–5*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., 1898), 156, 168, 175. On Barrett and Carl, see Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill* and *Baltimore Sun*, August 10, 12, 1898 (Barrett obituary). Gregory Barrett Jr. became a career U.S. Army officer and died of yellow fever in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.
17. Surgeon H. E. Goodman to Brig. Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, February 5, 1863; Assistant Surgeon Dewitt C. Peters to Maj. William S. Fish, February 27, 1863; Capt. Louis A. Carl to Brig. Gen. John R. Kenly, December 14, 1863; Col. Richard N. Bowerman to Lt. Col. Frederick T. Locke, November 19, 1864, in Lt. Paul D. Placide, Company I, Fourth Maryland Volunteer Regiment, Civil War Service Record, NARA; Deposition: Richard N. Bowerman, March 16, 1892, Placide Claim.

18. Depositions: William J. Carter, March 17, 1892; Capt. John H. Suter, April 1, 1892; William H. H. Snader, April 1, 1892; Richard N. Bowerman, March 16, 1892, Placide Claim.
19. *Baltimore Sun*, September 10, 13, 19, 1866; October 27, 1866; Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 399–400.
20. Christian [Christopher] Hartgens [Hartjens] household, 1870 U.S. Census, Tenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; *Baltimore Sun*, August 13, 1863; July 30, 1875 (Christopher Hartjens death notice); Louisa E. Placide, died December 20, 1927, Death Certificate #13215, SE43 Baltimore County Death Certificates, Maryland State Archives; Depositions: Mary [Hartjens] Levering, [1890] and March 18, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, April 28, 1892 and December 14, 1892, Placide Claim.
21. Deposition: Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; Record Proof of Marriages, Births, and Deaths, November 24, 1886; Certificate of Baptism for Louisa Dorothea Placide, November 22, 1886, Placide Claim.
22. Depositions: Martha Diggs, March 18, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; Susie Placide, December 15, 1892, Placide Claim.
23. Deposition: Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; *Baltimore Sun*, February 24, 1870; October 22, 1870, Placide Claim.
24. Depositions: Martha Diggs, March 18, 1892; John T. Clark, March 23, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; William J. Carter, March 17, 1892; Mary Levering, [1890]; Isabel Herring, December 16, 1892, Placide Claim; Paul D. Placide, died November 26, 1875, Death Certificate #6682, Baltimore City Death Certificates, MSA; *Baltimore Sun*, November 29, 1875 (Paul Placide obituary).
25. Paul's brother Henry's wife Emma died in 1866; his brother Harrison in 1867; his father Henry Sr. in 1868; his brother Henry Jr. in 1870; his brother Robert in 1873; and Paul in 1875. *Baltimore Sun*, September 10, 1866; June 10, 1867; November 26, 1868; October 13, 1870; November 12, 1873; Depositions: Dr. George G. Brewer, March 15, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; William E. Herring, December 16, 1892, Placide Claim.
26. Depositions: Louisa E. Placide, April 28, 1892 and December 14, 1892; Mary A. Jeanneret, July 20, 1891 in Placide Claim; George H. Fulton household, 1880 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md. (Placides are incorrectly indexed as "Alacide").
27. Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, September 30, 1895, Vol. 3, Doc. 5, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 10, 25; W. T. Pierson, *Precedents Applicable to Suits, Civil and Criminal, Growing Out of or Incident to the Administration of the Pension and Bounty-Land Laws* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 109; *Baltimore Sun*, February 11, 1891; September 11 and 24, 1891; October 21 and 24, 1891; December 8 and 16, 1891; September 20, 1892; April 13, 1894; January 23, 1895; February 21, 1895; August 19, 1895; June 12, 1896; October 13, 1896; *The American Lawyer* 4(11) (November 1896): 516. On Louisa's later years, see William Placide household, 1900 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; L. E. Placide household, 1910 U.S. Census, Fourth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; Louisa E. Placide household, 1920 U.S. Census, Seventeenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.. Louisa E. Placide died December 20, 1927, Death Certificate, #13215, SE43 Baltimore County Death Certificates, Maryland State Archives. Louisa survived her son William S. Placide, who also died of tuberculosis. See William S. Placide, died November 23, 1909, Death Certificate #C27692, Baltimore City Death Certificates, MSA.
28. Deposition: Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892 in Placide Claim.
29. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 204.
30. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 40.

Book Reviews

Building the James Brice House, 1767–1774. By Orlando Ridout IV. (Annapolis: Friends of the Maryland State Archives, 2013. 237 pages. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index to appendix. Cloth, \$65.00; paper, \$30.00.)

Lovers of architecture detective stories will find this book hard to put down. The author, an architectural historian, educator, and long-time public figure in Maryland, has made a convincing case for the design origins of every molding, bracket, and roof angle in Annapolis's James Brice House (completed in 1774). The five-part, brick Georgian house at 42 East Street was designed by the merchant-owner himself, without the assistance of an architect or master builder. A city house, it is one of the largest private dwellings built in colonial North America. It is now preserved and occupied by the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen and, as the union's headquarters, is known as the "International Masonry Center."

James Brice (1746–1801) was born into a third-generation Annapolis family of merchants and planters. He engaged in the family pursuits, and also served as an officer during the Revolutionary War. After the war, Brice held public office as mayor of Annapolis and as a member of the Governor's Council.

Ridout identifies three potential sources of influence on the Brice House's design: (1) the domestic architecture of eighteenth-century Annapolis and the western shore of the Chesapeake; (2) Isaac Ware's 1737 translation of Palladio's *The Four Books of Architecture* (1570); and (3) an array of British pattern books, including Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* (issued in parts, 1756–1768), documented in Brice's possession by a receipt. The author himself compiled a meticulous photographic record of the vernacular pitched-roof house in the British Isles, Ireland, and the Low Countries, a form all but absent from the Georgian style books but evident in the built world of the eighteenth century in both the Old World and the mid-Atlantic. (A pitched or gabled roof's two planes normally each meet an exterior wall at an angle of between 30 and 45 degrees from the horizontal. It sometimes incorporates dormers, although the central block of the Brice House does not. [Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 42–44.]

Ridout's enthusiasm for historic architecture has not tempted him to take an unjustifiably charitable view of the Brice House's visually uncomfortable proportions. He gives compliments where they are due but does not hesitate to point out James Brice's less fortunate design choices. Studying the images of the house's East Street front before turning to the text—see, e.g., cover, 10, 17 (detail)—the reader may anticipate the author's verdict: The house exhibits "three unconventional transgressions against the rules of Georgian proportion" (15). Namely, the center Palladian window is too small for the expansive front wall of the house, the fragile ornament

of the cornice is also out of scale, and the vertical space between the belt course and the second-story windows is too deep (the term *belt course* referring to the continuous row of bricks signaling the division between the first and second stories on the front facade).

Ridout places Brice's design choices, good and bad, in the context of the environment of the builder's world, where vernacular preferences in domestic architecture sometimes prevailed over the formal models illustrated in the English design books. Although a hipped roof, characterized by four sloping planes, might have pleased the educated eye better than the pitched roof on the James Brice House, that is not what prosperous Marylanders of the merchant and planter class necessarily preferred in his day. Lacking the sophistication of architectural design training, Brice chose to follow in the conservative footsteps of five fellow Annapolitans, each of whom built a house with a vernacular pitched roof in the period between 1720 and the date when construction began on the his house. Members of "polite society" all, these builders were not unqualified adopters of formal Georgian design. Where Brice *did* follow the fashion in formal design was in his occasionally too exuberant wood and plaster embellishments in the house's interior; craftsmen's names and building materials are recorded in his account book in facsimile in the appendix.

Ridout's text is dense with information about the Brice family, the domestic architecture of eighteenth-century Annapolis, and the social history of its inhabitants. James Brice's account book, discovered in 1970 by archivist Frank White, newly indexed by Jean Russo, and published for the first time in the book's appendix, represents, according to Ridout, "one of the most important collections of primary source material [on colonial house construction]" (viii). The original document was secured in a safe in an Annapolis Masonic temple for nearly 170 years before its accession by the Maryland State Archives. Its content is for the first time easily accessible to students of colonial architecture and the public. Space permitting, an index to the author's text would have allowed the reader to refer back to topics of interest as many a reader will want to do, once having read it straight through. The illustrations include many helpful visual examples of the buildings and design details described in the text. Author Orlando Ridout IV has made an important contribution to the history of architecture in colonial Annapolis.

ROYANNE CHIPPS BAILEY
Independent Scholar

What So Proudly We Hailed: Francis Scott Key, A Life. By Marc Leepson. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014. 227 pages. Illustrated, partial Key family genealogy, notes and bibliography. Cloth, \$26.00.)

Marc Leepson's new biography is a welcome addition to the recent body of works adding to our knowledge of the personalities behind the events and iconic symbols

that emerged from the War of 1812. In this first full treatment of Francis Scott Key's life since Edward Delaplaine's 1937 biography, Leepson reveals the complex personality behind the well-known image of the man standing at the ship's rail, anxiously watching the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

Best known today as the author of the stirring lyrics that became our national anthem, Key was a skilled lawyer, respected orator, deeply religious, an early advocate for universal education, a founder of the American Colonization Society, and a prominent figure in Washington and Maryland legal and political circles from 1805 through his death in 1843. His most famous legal cases involved defending Sam Houston against charges of treason and acting as negotiator/conciliator in the Nullification Crisis of 1832. Politically conservative, Key opposed slavery but was also against the abolitionist movement. He defended the rights of slave owners in court, but his pro-bono efforts on behalf of African Americans defending their freedom were also well known. He served for eight years as U.S. Attorney for Washington D.C. under the Jackson administration and served in Jackson's 'Kitchen Cabinet' of close advisors. Like many contemporaries, Key was well versed in the liberal arts and highly regarded for his writing and public speaking. A 'gentleman poet,' he composed primarily for personal pleasure, but with one notable exception his verse is amateurish and largely forgotten. In truth, the circumstances which led him to be in position to observe the bombardment of Fort McHenry and be inspired to write the lyric which became known as the "Star-Spangled Banner" are a minor episode in a life devoted to service to his country, his church, and his family.

What So Proudly We Hailed is an enjoyable read, providing fresh insight to Key's life and the culture in which he lived. One aspect of the narrative however is troubling. In his introduction, Leepson refers to Key's "cloudy" legacy in relation to slavery, a theme that resurfaces throughout the work. Depicting Key's conflicting views on slavery as a flaw of character, the author falls into a trend shared by many current writers of history—the tendency to evaluate a historical figure in the light of today's cultural sensibilities. The contrast between Key's views on slavery and his ownership of slaves, his commitment to the colonization effort and distrust of the abolitionist movement, or his defense of slave owners' property rights and representing African Americans suing for their freedom may indeed seem perplexing to modern sensibilities. But in the context of the times these dilemmas confronted Americans from all walks of life and at all levels of society. To depict those personal conflicts as 'flaws in character' is ungenerous. To chastise Key for his life-long friendship with Roger B. Taney over Taney's Dred Scott decision, which occurred fourteen years after Key's death, is mean-spirited. Key was a product of his time and his personal conflicts on the issues of slavery in no way diminish the value of his contributions to the legal, political and social culture of his nation.

Despite this criticism, *What So Proudly We Hailed* offers a fresh look at the man behind the "Star-Spangled Banner" and an understanding of his role beyond

the song that for most Americans, still stirs a sense of pride and patriotism with its opening phrases.

DAVID McDONALD
Maryland Historical Society

We Have the War Upon Us: The Onset of the Civil War, November 1860–April 1861. By William J. Cooper. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012. 347 pages. Illustrations, map, notes, index. Cloth, \$30.00.)

One of the latest in a long line of works by formidable historian William J. Cooper, *We Have the War Upon Us* takes a fresh look at a much scrutinized period of American history. Unlike many other books dedicated to the Civil War's beginnings, Cooper dissects the period between Lincoln's election and the firing on Fort Sumter by highlighting much more than just the political and ideological differences between northerners and southerners. He explores the divisions that were rampant among Democrats in the North and the South, as well as in the Republican party as a whole as the secession crisis developed, and examines political dynamics in an attempt to shed light on why those individuals in both sections who sought to diffuse tensions through compromise were not successful. Directly stating his book's message in the preface, Cooper writes "My book focuses on why the pro-compromise legions lost, or why the American tradition of sectional compromise failed" (xv).

In many ways this book might provide lessons for those participating in modern political discourse in that it points out the dangers of short-sighted partisanship. Cooper notes that there were opportunities to avert civil war and that there were many from the North and the South who vigorously but unsuccessfully worked toward that end. The polarization of different factions within the political parties coupled with the fact that few at the time could fathom the depth of the disaster that was about to befall the country created a volatile mixture destined to ignite. Cooper singles out Abraham Lincoln for a good deal of criticism, noting the newly elected president's stance against compromise on issues related to expanding slavery, as well as his general lack of understanding of the southern mindset. He maintains that Lincoln saw the secession movement as a political plot led by a minority of southern hotheads and not the result of any policy promoted by his Republican party. He "rationalized his House-Divided declaration" that the South perceived as a fundamental threat and seemed to hold the belief that the non-slaveholding majority of southern whites were more committed to the Union than to the peculiar institution (73). This contrasted with the views of other Republicans such as Lincoln's secretary of state William Seward, who sensed the gravity of the secession crisis and promoted compromise with the southerners in an effort to avoid a wider and more violent conflict. While the political relief never materialized, Cooper points out that more moderate Republicans in the North "felt compelled to aid southern union-

ists who were begging for something from the Republicans to help them blunt the secessionist advance" (177). As the leader of his party following the 1860 election, Lincoln's views helped shape Republican policy, empowering those who were not in any mood to strike a deal with the South, and who were determined to obstruct any efforts along those lines. Meanwhile, there was no lack of political intrigue among southern statesmen as the voices of those promoting immediate secession after Lincoln's election began to drown out those of southern unionists who hoped that cooler heads would prevail. The warnings of political stalwarts like Sam Houston of Texas and future Confederate vice-president Alexander Stephens of Georgia fell on deaf ears as events began spinning out of control. Radical "fire-eaters" in the South were just as unwilling to compromise as Lincoln and like-minded Republicans in the North, creating a situation that made a peaceful settlement of the secession crisis almost impossible. In the end, the Confederate firing on Fort Sumter put to rest any hopes for compromise. It provoked a groundswell of patriotic spirit in the North that further empowered hard-line Republicans and it caused support for the Union to crumble in the upper South. Once Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the other southern states in the Confederacy after the incident, the stage was set for the violent events to come.

In this book Cooper maintains the high scholarly standard that he has set through his many other works related to the nineteenth-century South and the Civil War. The book is well-researched, well-written, and does a good job bringing clarity to a confused but pivotal period in American history. Anyone interested in the origins of the Civil War, American political history, or American political discourse in general will probably enjoy this book and find it very interesting.

BEN WYNNE

University of North Georgia

Troubled Ground: A Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South. By Claude A. Clegg III. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. 248 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$80.00.)

This work is a highly detailed and nuanced account of two lynchings in the author's hometown of Salisbury, North Carolina, at the turn of the twentieth century. Clegg, a professor of history at Indiana University, embarked on the project after stumbling upon a photograph that gruesomely captured one of the two lynchings under review. One occurred in 1902 with two victims, the other in 1906 with three. (Significantly, the latter resulted in the first conviction of an accused lyncher in North Carolina.) Although Clegg was born and raised in Salisbury, he knew nothing of these events in his hometown before discovering the photograph as an adult.

One might interpret this as simply an effort to bring yet another ugly chapter in the story of southern race relations to light, but this book offers much more than

that. *Troubled Ground* is a well-crafted community study that impressively situates two lynchings within the greater postbellum southern experience. "In excavating the Salisbury lynchings in particular, this work renders the local, human stakes involved in the everyday vagaries of race relations in the New South, while juxtaposing these realities against the larger context of southern history and the African American experience in the age of Jim Crow" (xv). Ultimately, Clegg's work is about failure to live up to the promise of the New South. It is about resistance to modernity, the politics of remembering—and just as often forgetting—the racial tensions of this region's past, and about the author's personal coming to terms with race relations in contemporary America.

Three themes provide structure. First, Clegg underscores the extent to which official complicity was ubiquitous "in perpetuating a culture of mob violence by either fomenting it for political gain or failing to quell it in the name of public safety" (xvi). He explores the often intersecting roles played by the press, coroners, sheriffs, lawyers, governors, congressmen, and even the president of the United States in condoning and even perpetuating lynching. Particularly noteworthy is a discussion of the ways in which white newspapers shaped public perceptions of African Americans as prone to crime and solidified white southerners' acceptance of extra-legal violence. Development of this first theme is perhaps the book's strongest and most original contribution.

Second, Clegg emphasizes the degree to which lynchings solidified racial hierarchies and boundaries in the Jim Crow South. And third, *Troubled Ground* considers the disconnects between the idealized vision of the postbellum South as articulated by the region's white elite, and the realities of mob violence, disenfranchisement, black codes, debt peonage and chain gangs in the lives of the state's African Americans. For example, North Carolina governors Charles Aycock and Robert Glenn called publicly for racial moderation, but Clegg concludes that elected officials sought to control extra-legal violence toward African Americans, not out of sympathy, but because such figures believed that lynching "reflected native weakness of state power and authority in turn-of-the-century North Carolina" (47). Although scholars such as W. Fitzhugh Brundage and Philip Dray have thoroughly examined those ideas, this microhistory justly applies them to the Salisbury lynchings while adding detail and context in the process.

Troubled Ground more than succeeds as a close look at extra-legal violence. In praise, Clegg places these two Salisbury lynchings in broader historical context, drawing connections to the better-known Wilmington Race Riot of 1898, growing anti-lynching campaigns at the turn of the century, and emerging racial ideology as expressed by Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. The epilogue, "Old South, New South," a consideration of Salisbury at the time of the 2008 presidential election, adds to the personal element of Clegg's story while providing the reader with a better sense of the community's evolution after the lynchings. Finally, Clegg admirably

uncovers the social, political, and economic identities of virtually all actors tied up with these two lynchings, including the lynchers, victims and their respective families, the press, elected officials, law enforcement, and the legal community.

Although such painstaking detail is welcome in some places, in others, Clegg sometimes presents too much concerning the perpetrators and victims, and particularly the ensuing legal battles, occasionally making *Troubled Ground* a slow and uninspiring read. Expansion upon the greater significance of the Salisbury lynchings in connection with North Carolina and southern history would have strengthened this study and perhaps attracted a wider readership. Ultimately, *Troubled Ground* will likely appeal to a narrower audience, specifically one with strong interest in lynching and extralegal violence, turn-of-the-century race relations and/or legal history.

KATHERINE E. ROHRER
University of Georgia

A New Deal for All? Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore. By Andor Skotnes. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013. 376 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$26.95.)

Borders of Equality: The NAACP and the Baltimore Civil Rights Struggle, 1914–1970. By Lee Sartain. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013. 235 pages. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00.)

New monographs appearing this year from Lee Sartain and Andor Skotnes are welcome and important additions to what is, happily, the growing bookshelf on civil rights struggles in Baltimore in the middle of the twentieth century. Such recent works as Howell Baum's *Brown in Baltimore* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010) and the anthology *Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth in an American City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011) depict the fraught path to at least de jure racial equality in a border city with a bit of a regional identity crisis. Skotnes and Sartain both draw attention to the peculiarities of race relations in Baltimore, the major metropolis of a former slave state that at the same time had a northern-style concentration of heavy industry and a sizable industrial working-class population. "The region," Skotnes explains, "had a dual nature, an *in-betweenness*" (11). The convergence of Jim Crowism with a longstanding activist black community and the tantalizing possibilities of labor unionism make it a fascinating case study for students of the twentieth-century civil rights struggle. And while Skotnes and Sartain tell stories that are distinctly of Baltimore, they make major contributions to the broader fields of urban, labor, and African American history.

Lee Sartain, author and editor of two previous books about the NAACP, focuses on the Baltimore branch in *Borders of Equality*, contending that together with the Urban League, the Baltimore NAACP dominated civil rights activism in the city from 1914 through the 1960s. By the end of World War II, the branch had a membership

of nearly 18,000, one of the most robust in the nation. Sartain attributes much of the branch's eventual prominence, both locally and nationally, to the leadership of Lillie Carroll Jackson, who served as president from 1935 to 1970. Prior to her presidency and especially in its first two decades of existence, the Baltimore NAACP struggled to find consistent leadership. Sartain argues that the branch's officers were dominated by "black middle-class elites" (5); its reputation as such led to competition for the support of working-class African Americans by the Communist Party (CP) during the Depression and criticism from the International Labor Defense, the CP's legal arm. This NAACP-versus-CP match-up will be very familiar to those who have read about the similar conflict in Depression-era Alabama in Robin D. G. Kelley's *Hammer and Hoe* (1990). Despite pressure from more radical voices on the left, Jackson steered the Baltimore NAACP to more liberal strategies that "wanted to fully integrate with American economic life rather than to change the system itself" (36). Under Jackson's leadership, the Baltimore NAACP focused on voting rights, housing desegregation, and most notably, school desegregation. This approach was consistent with the strategies of the national office.

Sartain rightly underscores the significance of the fact that such a large and prominent branch was led by a woman for more than three decades, a fact all too often overlooked in references to the Baltimore NAACP that focus on luminaries like Charles Hamilton Houston, Clarence Mitchell, and Thurgood Marshall. Joining Lillie Jackson among the branch's key female leaders was her daughter Juanita, whose work with Baltimore's City-Wide Young People's Forum led to a position as a national youth organizer for the NAACP. "[I] was surprised at how rapidly [the book] became a narrative about Lillie Jackson and her family and their use of the branch and its interaction with other organizations and officials," Sartain observes in the conclusion (172).

Sartain offers some of the book's most interesting contributions when examining these inter-organizational relationships. The depiction of the branch's preference for liberal strategies over more radical economic programs in the 1930s reflects the consensus within the broader NAACP historiography. Sartain also fits the Baltimore branch within the usual narrative of NAACP conflict and competition with younger and more radical civil rights organizations in the 1960s. This conflict is reflected in large part in the apparent personality conflict between Lillie Jackson and Ella Baker, who bristled at Jackson's heavy-handed leadership and who would go on to co-found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on more democratic, non-hierarchical principles. At the same time, Sartain finds the Baltimore NAACP serving as a valued consultant of sorts for the local efforts of national groups like CORE and SNCC conducting their first forays into Baltimore. Collaboration occurred simultaneously with competition, particularly during sit-ins and pickets by college students to integrate local businesses in the early 1960s.

Closing the narrative in 1970, when Enolia McMillan succeeded Lillie Jackson

as branch president, Sartain gives the Baltimore NAACP its due for decades of struggle to open the city's public schools to black children, agitate against lynchings on Maryland's eastern shore, fight restrictive covenants in housing, and support so many of the other bread-and-butter NAACP priorities of the day. Yet the study concludes that the NAACP's focus on legal equality and desegregation nonetheless meant that "poor and disempowered blacks before *Brown* generally remained poor and disempowered after the civil rights movement" (168).

That this is the coda to so many histories of the civil rights movement underscores the significance of Andor Skotnes's work in *A New Deal for All?* This sprawling, complicated monograph examines linkages between the civil rights movement and the labor movement in Baltimore during the Depression. "This . . . is a study of social movements *in the plural*," Skotnes explains, that are "deeply, complexly, and subtly interconnected" (3). *A New Deal for All?* takes the "long civil rights movement" approach, a phrase coined by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall to connect the movement of the 1960s to activism in the Depression and World War II. The understanding that civil rights activism did not, in fact, appear for the first time in 1960 at the Greensboro sit-ins is critical to analyzing movement leaders and strategies, particularly the role of black women in sustaining the movement in the long term. But Skotnes's study offers its most exciting contributions in its discovery of the connections between industrial unionism and civil rights organizing at this time. In doing so, Skotnes explodes the usual assumptions, made by Sartain and many others, that the NAACP was dominated by middle-class African-Americans. Instead, Skotnes describes the civil rights movement in Baltimore as indicative of a "*social bloc* spanning the class hierarchy . . . [that] attempted with some success to speak for the overwhelmingly working-class African American community as a whole" (40). With this formulation, Skotnes challenges readers to rethink the usual assumptions about the elitism of the NAACP and the scholarly compartmentalization of labor and civil rights histories.

This "cross-class alliance within black Baltimore" gained momentum during the Depression. In response to the economic challenges of the Depression, Communist Party organizing intensified in Baltimore. At the same time, civil rights organizing was given new life by the creation of the City-Wide Young People's Forum, led by Juanita Jackson and her future husband, Clarence Mitchell. At times, the labor and civil rights movements grew parallel to each other; at other times, organizations and individual activists intersected, as in the case of mass protests around the lynching of George Armwood in 1933 and the Baltimore NAACP's "Buy Where You Can Work" campaign in favor of what Skotnes notes were "thoroughly working-class, service-sector positions" (157). There were also early examples of interracial organizing among the unemployed and among maritime workers.

Interracial unionism was ascendant in the second half of the 1930s with the establishment of the consciously integrationist Congress of Industrial Organizations

(CIO) and particularly successful union drives in Baltimore's garment, maritime, and steel industries. With CIO affiliates dominating workplace organizing, civil rights groups like the Baltimore NAACP focused on issues in the "neighborhood and public spheres" like school and housing desegregation. The branch, however, sometimes supported issues with labor implications, such as the campaign for parity in black and white teachers' salaries and the integration of Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company. "The movements led by the CIO and the NAACP did not consummate a functioning, ongoing alliance during the late 1930s," Skotnes writes. "Nonetheless, by evolving in the same social space and by expressing their ideologies and demands in the same cultural atmosphere, they influenced each other quite profoundly" (313). Skotnes adds that it is important to acknowledge this process of mutual influence to give credit to the longstanding efforts of black civil rights activists in Baltimore, not simply attribute interracial unionism solely to the beliefs of the more radical edge of the labor movement.

Baltimore's border status makes it an especially important place to study race relations; Charles Hamilton Houston of the NAACP even described it as a "legal laboratory" during the organization's higher education desegregation efforts of the 1950s. Lee Sartain confirms many of the conclusions of existing civil rights historiography even within Baltimore's peculiar circumstances. Andor Skotnes encourages readers to question some of those conclusions, particularly the supposed middle-class bias of the NAACP and the all-too-frequent siloing of the freedom and labor movements. One hopes that the fascinating insights drawn from simultaneous study of both movements in Depression-era Baltimore will lead to similar studies in other cities – and perhaps to some rethinking of how we understand both African-American and labor history.

FRANCESCA GAMBER
Baltimore

The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects. By Richard Kurin. (New York: Penguin Press, 2013. 781 pages. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. Cloth, \$50.00.)

Richard Kurin's purpose is to provide an inclusive history of the American experience through careful study of 101 items in the museums of the Smithsonian Institution. The Under Secretary for History, Art and Culture, Kurin is the right person for this task, and he has chosen his subject, and the title of this book, with care. The topic is American history rather than U.S. history because many of the artifacts predate the formation of the United States. The topic is American history rather than history of the Americas because Kurin concentrates on the region that would become the United States and not on Canada, Central and South America, or the Caribbean. Within *The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects*, each item occupies a place in our collective memory, though no single artifact will be familiar to all Americans.

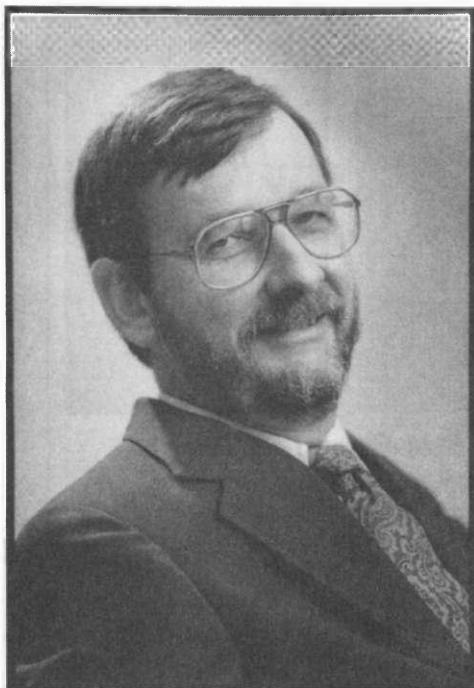
The items from pre-Columbian America may be absent from the memory of most Americans, who have given little thought to the distant past, the word "distant" being relative because human habitation and the development of culture were more recent achievements in the Americas than in, say, dynastic China. The text ranges from the era before the arrival of humans in the Americas, a date that continues to stir debate, to the most modern telescope at the Smithsonian Institution. One might note that John Quincy Adams, one of the Smithsonian Institution's architects, envisioned it as a promoter of science in general and of astronomy in particular.

Kurin includes powerful and important artifacts, among them the shackles that bound slaves, Cesar Chavez's union jacket, a panel from the AIDS memorial quilt, and the ubiquitous personal computer. One might question the inclusion of McDonald's iconic arches as a descent into popular culture, but for many Americans McDonald's will be much more familiar than the Clovis arrowheads of arguably America's first inhabitants. The inclusion of an RCA television is highly relevant to Americans whereas an Oscar award to Katherine Hepburn is probably less significant. Technology is an important focus of *The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects*. In this regard the author was probably wise to include Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, though some historians aver that an Italian-American and not Bell actually invented the device. Another central technology was the automobile, doubtless leading Kurin to include a Model T, possibly the most important motor vehicle in American history. By contrast science, often thought to be the engine that drives technological change, receives less treatment.

The 101 artifacts underpin seventeen chronological and topical categories: Before Columbus, New World, Let Freedom Ring, Young Nation, Sea to Shining Sea, a House Divided, Manifest Destiny, the Industrial Revolution, Modern Nation, the Great Depression, the Greatest Generation, the Cold War, New Frontiers, Civil Rights, Pop Culture, the Digital Age, and a New Millennium. These subheadings organize the book.

This large volume's appeal lies in its accessibility to the general reader. Kurin did not write it for a cadre of specialists in a particular subfield of American history. It contains a few brief references on the history of Maryland, in particular on Baltimore native and African American recipient of the Medal of Honor, Christian Fleetwood. Neither is this a history of the Smithsonian Institution. Rather the author succeeded in writing to educate and entertain, a considerable achievement. Kurin manages to infuse everyday objects with the capacity to remind Americans about their shared past, and *The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects* should be essential reading for students of American history and generalists alike.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO
Independent Scholar



Joseph L. Arnold Prize

for Outstanding Writing on
Baltimore's History in
2014

Submission Deadline:
February 2, 2015

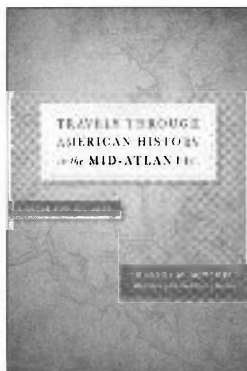
Thanks to the generosity of the Byrnes Family In Memory of Joseph R. and Anne S. Byrnes the Baltimore City Historical Society presents an annual Joseph L. Arnold Prize for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore's History, in the amount of \$500.

Joseph L. Arnold, Professor of History at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, died in 2004, at the age of sixty-six. He was a vital and enormously important member of the UMBC faculty for some three and a half decades as well as a leading historian of urban and planning history. He also played an active and often leading role with a variety of private and public historical institutions in the Baltimore area and at his death was hailed as the "dean of Baltimore historians."

Entries should be unpublished manuscripts between 15 and 45 double-spaced pages in length (including footnotes/endnotes). Entries should be submitted via email as attachments in MS Word or PC convertible format. If illustrations are to be included they should be submitted along with the text in either J-peg or TIF format.

There will be a "blind judging" of entries by a panel of historians. Criteria for selection are: significance, originality, quality of research and clarity of presentation. The winner will be announced in Spring 15. The BCHS reserves the right to not award the prize. The winning entry will be posted to the BCHS webpage and considered for publication in the Maryland Historical Magazine.

Further inquiries may be addressed to: baltimorehistory@law.umaryland.edu, or call Garrett Power @ 410-706-7661.



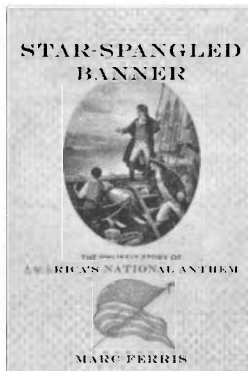
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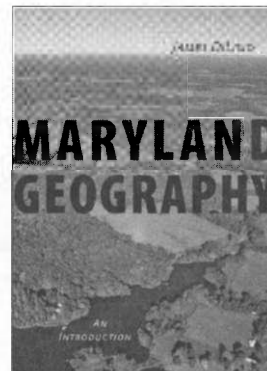
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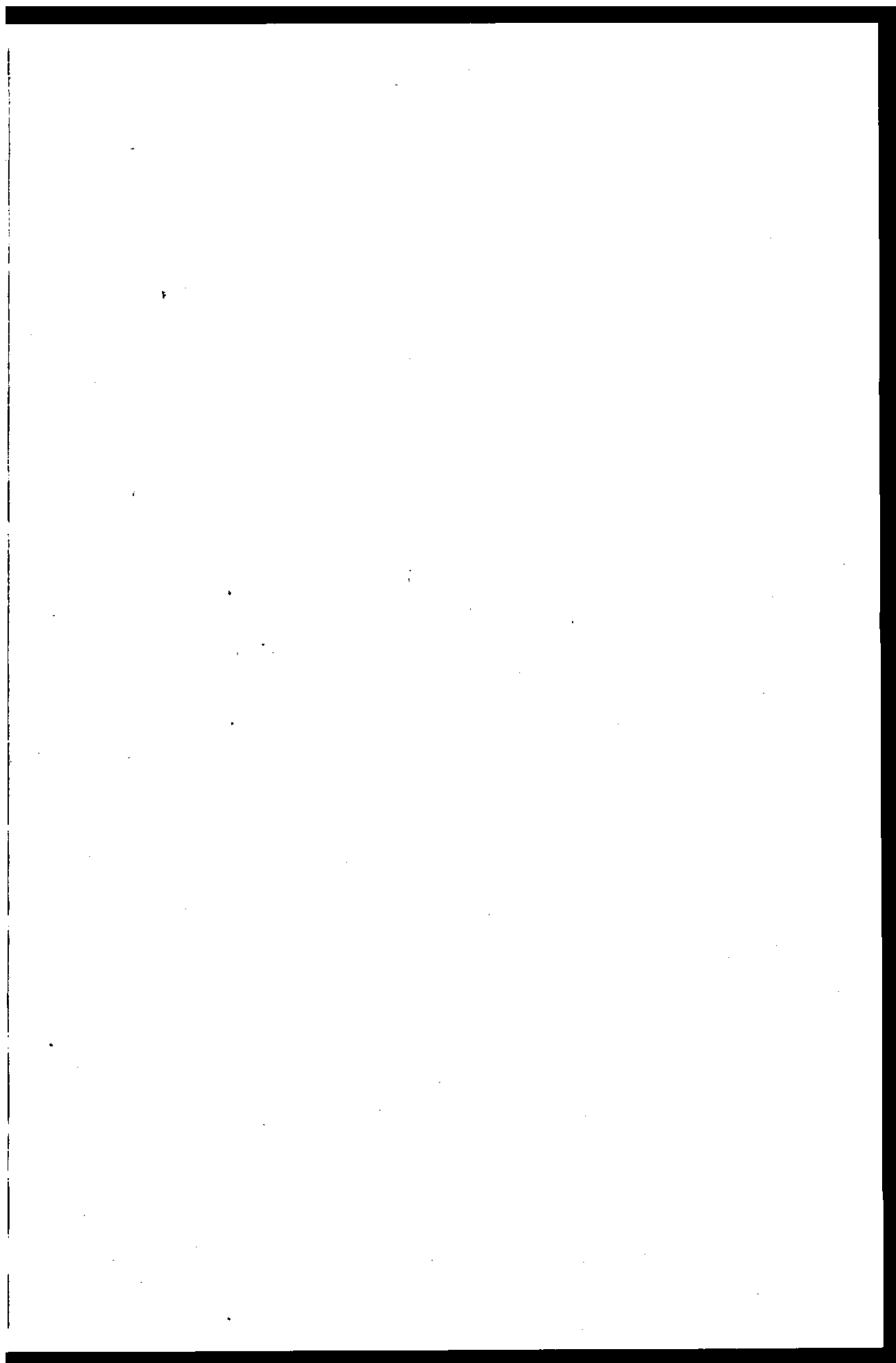
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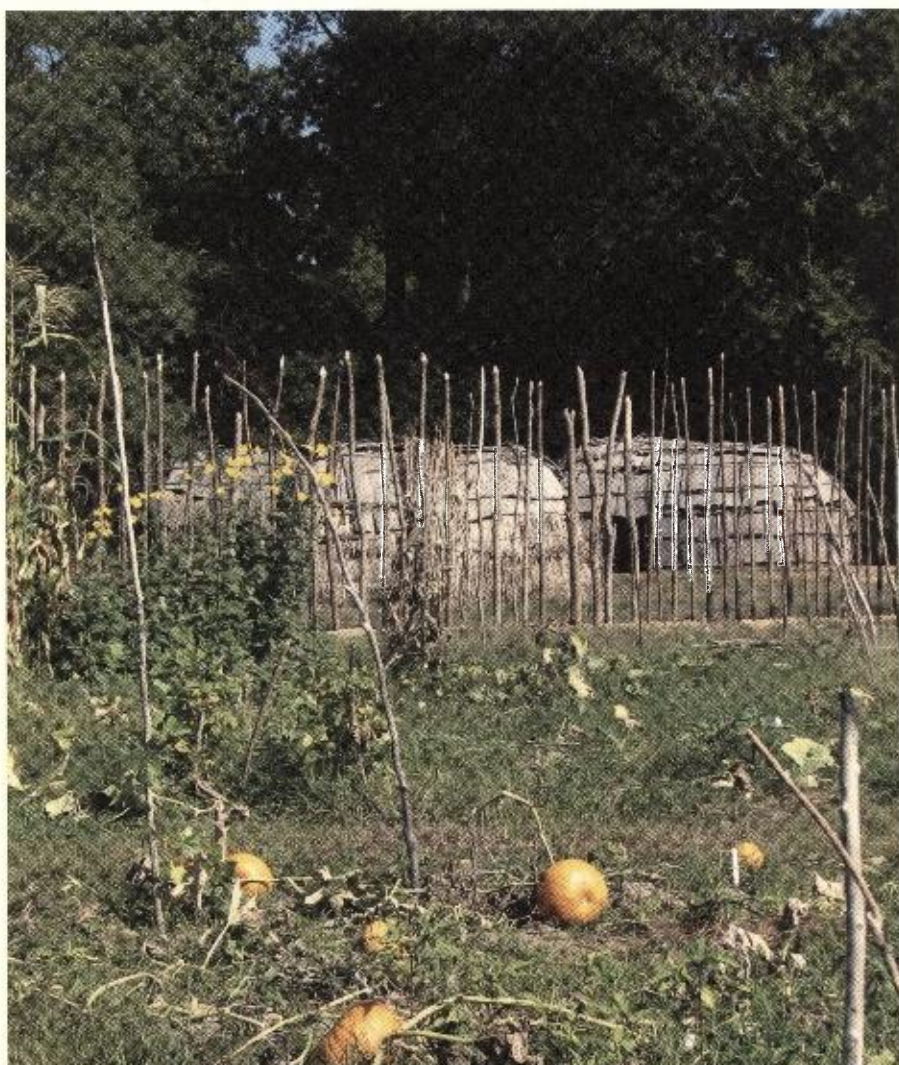
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Fall 2014


MARYLAND
Historical Magazine





Cover: Late-summer Garden, Indian Village, St. Leonard, Maryland

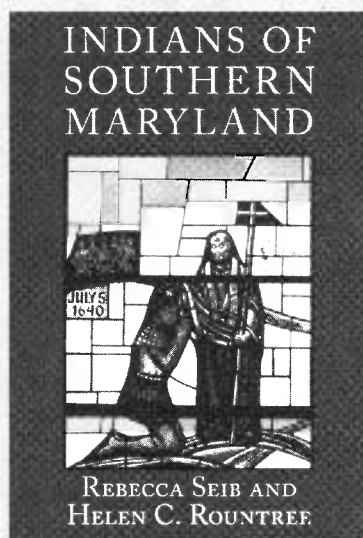
In 2007, the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum created this Indian Village in commemoration of John Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries four hundred years earlier. The park offers a glimpse into life as it might have been when the Virginia settler first visited the native people who lived along the Patuxent River. There are currently four longhouses on the site, with a palisade border of tall poles to protect stores of corn from raiders. The working garden produces vegetables that were staple foods of the native people. For additional information visit www.jefpat.org (Courtesy, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum.)



Cover: Late-summer Garden, Indian Village, St. Leonard, Maryland

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Friends of the Press of the Maryland Historical Society



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY continues its commitment to publish the finest new work in Maryland History. Next year, 2015, marks ten years since the Publications Committee, with the advice and support of the development staff, launched the Friends of the Press, an effort dedicated to raising money to be used solely for bringing new titles into print. The society is particularly grateful to H. Thomas Howell, past committee chair, for his unwavering support of our work and for his exemplary generosity. The committee is pleased to announce two new titles funded through the Friends of the Press.

Rebecca Seib and Helen C. Rountree's

forthcoming *Indians of Southern Maryland*, offers a highly readable account of the culture and history of Maryland's native people, from prehistory to the early twenty-first century. The authors, both cultural anthropologists with training in history, have written an objective, reliable source for the general public, modern Maryland Indians, schoolteachers, and scholars.

Appearing next spring, Milt Diggins's compelling story of slave catcher Thomas McCreary examines the physical and legal battles that followed the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Was seizing escaped slaves the legal capture of fugitives—or an act of kidnapping? Residing in Cecil County, midway between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and conducting his "business" in an area already inflamed by clashes like the violent Christiana riots, McCreary drew the ire of abolitionists. Frederick Douglass referred to him as "the notorious Elkton kidnapper."

These are the seventh and eighth Friends of the Press titles, continuing the mission first set forth in 1844. We invite you to become a supporter and help us fill in the unknown pages of Maryland history. If you would like to make a tax-deductible gift to the Friends of the Press, please direct your donation to Development, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. For additional information on MdHS publications, contact Patricia Dockman Anderson, Director of Publications and Library Services, 410-685-3750 x317 or panderson@mdhs.org.

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CONTENTS

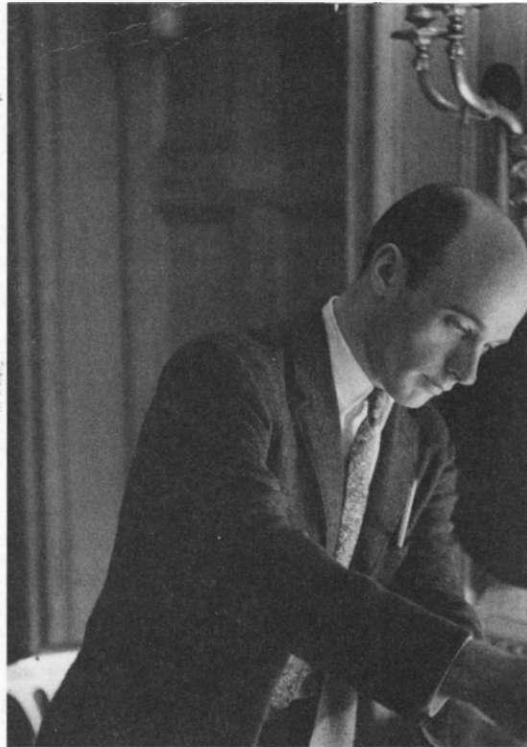
Book Excerpt: <i>Indians of Southern Maryland</i>	263
REBECCA SEIB and HELEN C. ROUNTREE	
“Convicted of a Scandalous Offence against the Government”: Political Culture and the English Civil War in Colonial Maryland	279
STEVEN CARL SMITH	
Maryland’s Presidential Election of 1860	307
CHARLES W. MITCHELL	
George W. Welzant and the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company	329
THOMAS L. HOLLOWAK	
Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany	351
The Case of the Catholic Know-Nothings, by Tracy Matthew Melton	
Book Reviews	372
Ridout, <i>Building the James Brice House, 1767–1774</i> , by Royanne Chipps Bailey	
Leepson, <i>What So Proudly We Hailed: Francis Scott Key, A Life</i> , by David McDonald	
Cooper, <i>We Have the War Upon Us: The Onset of the Civil War, November 1860–April 1861</i> , by Ben Wynne	
Clegg, <i>Troubled Ground: A Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South</i> , by Katherine E. Rohrer	
Skotnes, <i>A New Deal for All? Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore</i> , and <i>Sartain, Borders of Equality: The NAACP and the Baltimore Civil Rights Struggle</i> , 1914–1970, by Francesca Gamber	
Kurin, <i>The Smithsonian’s History of America in 101 Objects</i> , by Christopher Cumo	

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In Memoriam



William Voss Elder III, longtime friend and committee member of the Maryland Historical Society, died on April 17, 2014, at the age of eighty-two. Mr. Elder attended the Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and graduated from Princeton University. He later studied architectural history at the University of Pennsylvania. As second curator of the White House for First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy, he was instrumental in redecorating the president's home and revising the second edition of the official guide book. Mr. Elder left the White House in 1963 for the Baltimore Museum of Art, where he worked for thirty years as curator of decorative arts and authored catalogues showcasing the museum's collections. He also published articles on the state's architectural history, some of which are published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Mr. Elder chaired the Gallery Committee in the 1980s, now the Museum Committee, and remained actively involved. He was an endless fount of information on Maryland history and will be greatly missed.

Mark B. Letzer

In Memoriam

Karen A. Stuart, a longtime mainstay of the library of the Maryland Historical Society, died of cancer at the age of fifty-nine on August 19, 2014, at Stella Maris Hospice in Timonium. Born in Greensboro, North Carolina, she was raised in Lutherville and was a graduate of Towson High School, Loyola College, and the College of William & Mary, from which last she earned a master's degree in American history in 1984. From 1979 to 1985 she was our Assistant Manuscripts Librarian under Donna Ellis, in addition to serving as Assistant Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. On the resignation of Head Librarian William B. Keller in 1985, she became Acting Head Librarian, and in 1986 was confirmed as Head Librarian, a position she held until she left us in 1990 to join the Library of Congress as a manuscripts archivist. She had been at the Library of Congress, and a resident of Alexandria, Virginia, ever since that time. A specialist in colonial American history, she was a consummate professional in the administration of libraries in general and manuscript collections in particular. Her memory remains green in the Maryland Historical Society's library and in the hearts of many of its longtime patrons.

Francis O'Neill

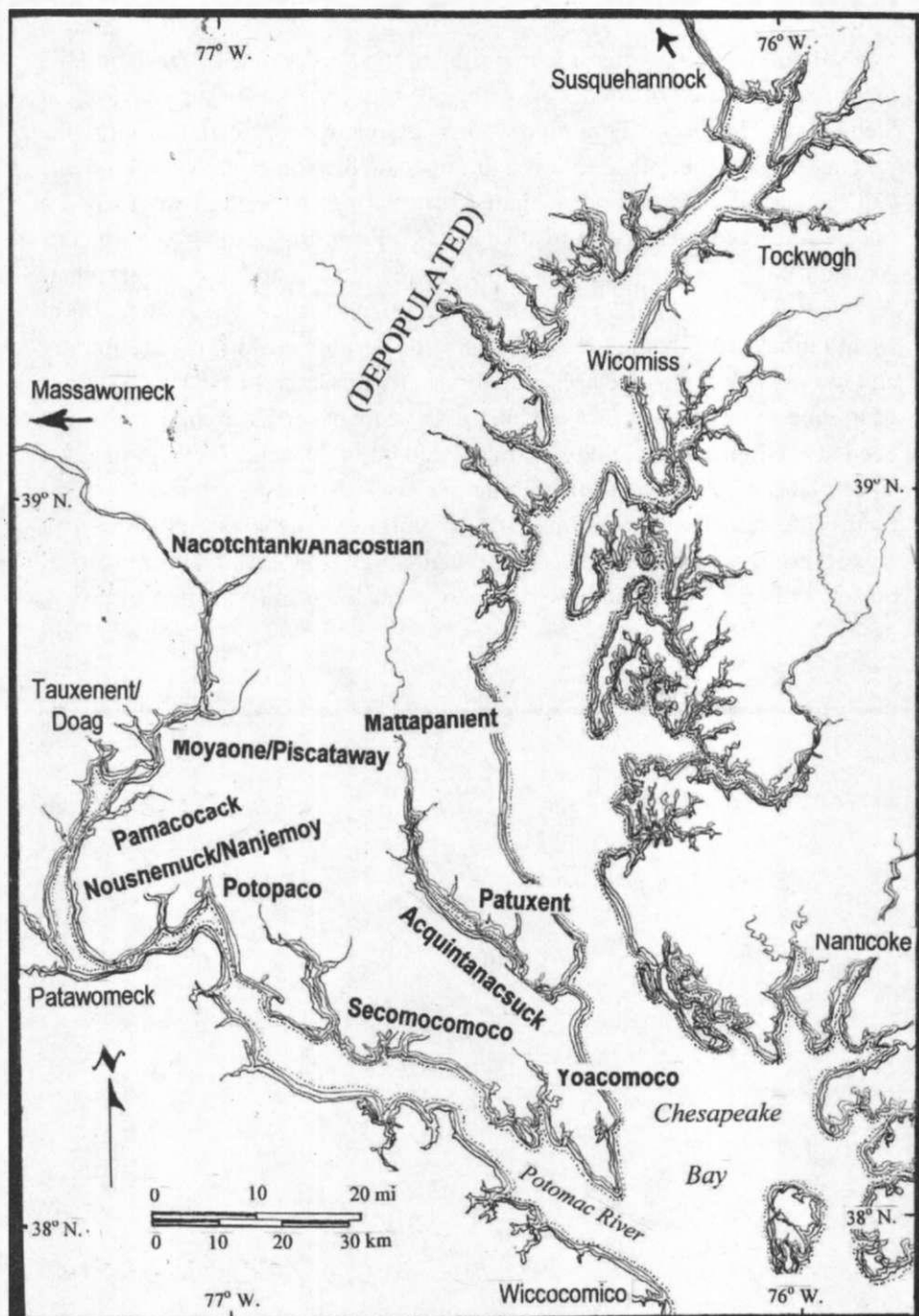


Figure 3-1. Native peoples of Southern Maryland and adjacent regions. Map by Helen Rountree.

Book Excerpt

The Early Historic Period, 1608–1633

REBECCA SEIB and HELEN C. ROUNTREE

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is pleased to present a selection from *Indians of Southern Maryland*, a much needed history soon to be published with support from the Friends of the MdHS Press. Authors Rebecca Seib and Helen C. Rountree, both accomplished anthropologists with training in history, are prominent scholars and authorities on Maryland's Native people.

The period when Europeans made occasional visits to southern Maryland, often termed the Protohistoric Period by historians because of the spotty records made at the time, began in the late 1500s and ended in 1633. If we expand the definition to include recorded traditions about “foreign” Indians, then the period began earlier in the sixteenth century, when Massawomecks began raiding the area.¹ Word of all these early contacts would have spread outward in ripples across the region (Fig. 3-1), thanks to the “moccasin telegraph.” That explains why people who had never yet met Massawomecks were already afraid of them, and why people who had never met an English trader, with or without his mysterious firearms, were eager to bargain with him at the first meeting.

The Massawomecks were the most important “foreign” visitors to southern Maryland before the English arrived, but regrettably, they are a shadowy people to historians and archaeologists. Records about them are very limited, and are usually from the viewpoint of their opponents. The group does not represent any one archaeological complex, which leads anthropologists to believe that they were a loose confederation of tribes covering a very large area that may have extended across the mountains of Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania and into Ohio. Henry Fleet, who met some of them in 1631–32 with an interpreter available,² reported that the term referred to five tribes: Tohoga, Mosticum, Shannetowa, and Usserahak, all allied with one another, plus people called Herekeens. The Mosticums seem to have been Algonquian-speakers (possibly the Muskingums, in Ohio), for the letter “M” does not appear in northern Iroquoian languages. The other four seem to have been Iroquoian-speakers. In particular Shannetowa is cognate with both “Shenandoah” and “Susquehannock,” meaning “great field.” Ceramics resembling those made by contemporary Susquehannocks have been found in east-central West Virginia (far up the South Branch of the Potomac

River). Labeled the Schultz Phase, they have been dated by archaeologists to the second half of the sixteenth century and a little later. It is therefore tempting to place the Shannetowas geographically in the Schultz Phase's area and then recall that John Smith reported that the "Massawomecks" and the Susquehannocks still living on the river of that name were enemies. That enmity would make sense if there had been an earlier rupture within the Susquehannocks, with disaffected people heading westward but coming back as raiders. The Herekeens lived farther from Maryland than the others, and once they acquired metal implements from French traders in what is now Canada, they became much more choosy in what they would purchase from Englishmen like Henry Fleet. They may have been the people known to history as Erie Indians, whose name for themselves is known to have been "Erikehronnon."³

The Massawomecks were known to be great long-distance travelers, "both winter and summer" according to Fleet. Most of their travels seem to have been raids, for they were hostile to the Maryland Algonquian-speakers except for the Nacotchtanks/Anacostians, who had managed to make a truce with them and establish themselves as middlemen. John Smith heard from Powhatan himself of a terrible raid in 1606, in which Massawomecks (Powhatan called them "Pocoughtraonacks") had killed a hundred people among the Patawomecks and Piscataways. In 1608, Smith met and deflected a Massawomeck raiding party aiming at the Tockwoghs at the head of Chesapeake Bay; Henry Spelman witnessed the Patawomecks being raided in 1610; and in 1631 Henry Fleet found that the Piscataways were dead set against his going upriver to meet with enemies who, they said, had killed a thousand of their people in the previous few years. (We find that figure exaggerated, but the enmity was real.)

Two major factors would account for the southern Maryland Indians' hatred of the Massawomecks, both having to do with their superior military technology. First, some of them (the Herekeens) had connections with the French far to the north, giving them early access to iron hatchets that kept an edge longer than stone axes did. And secondly, they traveled in birchbark canoes that were considerably faster than heavy log dugouts. (That the raiders had such canoes is another argument for their being from the northwest; the southernmost extent of the paper birch [*Betula papyrifera*] is in the mountains of northern West Virginia, where they are merely small, struggling shrubs.⁴) That combination of better weapons and faster transport meant that the Massawomecks could strike almost without warning, hit hard, and then escape pursuit easily. What's more, light canoes that could be carried over portages allowed them to make their waterborne attacks over a wider range of territory: both the Potomac River basin and the head of Chesapeake Bay⁵—reason enough for the outrage the Algonquian-speakers felt. The Massawomecks began trading their furs with the Virginia English in the 1630s, but the newly arrived Maryland English would soon cut that trade off. Not long afterward, they disappeared from the historical record, probably because they became known by a different name: "Black

Minqua" has been suggested, since the 1673 Augustin Herrman map shows people of that name living in the old Massawomeck region.

Probably in response to pressure from the Massawomecks, the Virginia Algonquians began organizing an ever-larger paramount chiefdom in the late sixteenth century, headed by Powhatan. By 1608, Powhatan's influence, if not domination, had drawn in the Patawomecks on the south bank of the Potomac, and he laid claim to the Tauxenents (English version: Doags) upstream. North bank people like the Nanjemoyes and Piscataways may also have been pressured for an alliance, which would not have sat well with the Piscataway tayacs. Piscataway oral tradition recorded in the 1660s said that the tayacs were already forming their own paramountcy by then: their reason would have been to combat not just the threat but the actuality of Massawomeck raids coming down the Potomac, with or without organizational help from the Nanticokes (see Chapter 2). Hearing that foreigners were beginning to enter the Chesapeake Bay from the east would hardly have made defensive alliances more urgent than they already were.

Word also would have arrived in Maryland about the visits of foreigners to more southerly regions. Europeans were, after all, so exotic to native North Americans (the "threatening" part came later) that their arrival would have been exciting news to spread around. Several boatloads of Europeans may have either passed or entered the Virginia Capes in the early and mid-1500s, but the first well-documented attempt at European settlement occurred down on the York River in 1570. A party of Spanish Jesuit missionaries came there to live and began demanding that the Indians in the neighborhood support them in exchange for the gift of Christianity. The local people did not consider that a good bargain, and after a few months they killed most of the Jesuits. When the Spanish military, based in Havana, found out and sent a retaliatory force, their activities left a sour taste among the tribes of the lower James and York Rivers.⁶ Word of the unpleasantness must have traveled far and wide. The Spanish, who claimed all the mid-Atlantic region as their own, visited the Chesapeake again in 1588, this time penetrating as far as the mouth of the Potomac River, where they took two hostages. The tribal identity of the hostages is not known, though one was actually from the Eastern Shore. They were taken involuntarily, so it is not surprising that one of them subsequently died "of grief." The other reached Santo Domingo and then died of smallpox.⁷

The English started later than the Spanish. They are known to have explored around the Outer Banks in the 1540s, but their first serious attempts at settlement (three of them) were on Roanoke Island in the mid-1580s. Hostilities with some of the native people broke out before long, and the colonies did not last.⁸ Word of that unpleasantness may have reached southern Maryland afterward, and it is even more probable that an incident on the lower Virginia Eastern Shore in 1603 was reported northward: an English expedition put in for water and was violently repulsed, for reasons unknown.⁹ Perhaps the local people involved thought the mariners were

Spanish, though more often Native Americans could tell Spanish and English craft and soldiers apart.

When the English built a fort on Jamestown Island in the spring of 1607 and then stayed on and on and on, not being the "visitors" they initially claimed to be, the news would have spread in all directions. The people of southern Maryland, though, would not have met an Englishman until John Smith came exploring in the summer of 1608.¹⁰ His account of his Potomac River exploration is regrettably brief, but at least it was written only four years after the events; his more detailed Rappahannock River adventures were written in 1624 and may be less reliable because of the lapse of time.

Smith and his crew were trying to do two jobs that summer besides recording the locations of Indian towns and potential harbors for English settlements that resulted in the famous John Smith map in 1612. He had also been ordered by the Virginia Company to find the Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean, along with any gold and silver mines in the region. Smith was out of luck on both counts, but the order made him focus heavily on where mountain ranges were (to locate the mines) and go up promising rivers like the Potomac as fast as he decently could (he relied on Indian towns along the way for food and drinking water). The two jobs interfered with one another at times, and on the Potomac River the interference caused Smith to omit a "warrior count" for the Nanjemoy and to miss altogether the Yoacomocos, both of them in southern Maryland. Another reason for the omissions may lie with Smith's guide, Mosco, who came from Wiccocomico on the Virginia side. Mosco may have been directing the English and their trade goods toward his own people. The main effects that Smith's visit had on the southern Maryland residents was to introduce them to metal cutting tools, which they would continue wanting thereafter, and to fix in English minds the idea that the people of the region were friendly and willing to sell corn. That combination guaranteed more English visits, and eventually another colony of Englishmen on their doorstep.

In 1610, an English boy came to live with the Patawomecks, where he probably was introduced to curious people from across the river (and all up and down it). Henry Spelman was on the run from Powhatan, who had become fed up with the Jamestown English. Being in his early teens, he was learning the language rapidly, and he could be questioned about what his people were all about: a major asset in a guest at that time. Spelman never wrote down very much of what he had seen and heard, but he did mention in his account that he witnessed a Massawomeck raid. Later that year he was taken away again by an English captain who had come to buy corn.¹¹ Interestingly, the local chief with whom he lived, Iapassus (or Japazaws), and the captain (Samuel Argall) were the same people who in 1613 would engineer the capture of Pocahontas. English trading visits, especially to the Patawomecks, would become more routine after 1610. Unfortunately, none of the people involved wrote anything about the Indian nations across the river from the Patawomecks. They did

learn one thing about the Piscataways, though: where early Jamestown colonists like John Smith called them "Moyaones," all the later writers called them "Piscataways." "Moyaone" may have been what chief Powhatan called them (his name for the Massawomecks differed, too, from the name used by the Potomac River peoples), or it may have signified only the town, not the nation. (Fig. 3-2)

In 1621 a Jamestown Englishman named John Pory gained information to add to what John Smith had learned about the Patuxent River people thirteen years earlier.¹² Pory was visiting the English settlement recently established on the lower Eastern Shore when a chief from the Patuxent River towns, named Namenacus, came there looking for Thomas Savage, interpreter to the paramount chief of Accomac. When opportunity offered, he took Pory aside and asked him to visit his area; Pory agreed to do so later, after he had finished some other business. Pory then conferred with the nearby Occohannocks, whose chief was the acting ruler of the Virginia part of the Shore at the time,¹³ and with his approval he crossed the bay. There he promptly ran into some local politics.

Namenacus proved to be from Aquintanacsuck, the chiefdom nearest the Patuxent River's mouth. He and his younger brother Wamanato welcomed Pory with a kettleful of boiled oysters, to be eaten aboard the ship. The next day Wamanato took Pory to his town, with its large cornfields, and introduced him to his wife and children before taking him hunting; Pory was escorted back to the ship by Namenacus. The day after that, an exchange was made: twelve beaver skins and a canoe for English trade goods, the first time that beaver skins (rather than the animals) are mentioned in an English record in Virginia or Maryland. Other trade was promised, including corn, an Indian boy (to learn English and become an interpreter), and an Englishman who had run away from his people and lived in the area for five years. But the next day Wamanato stayed home and Namenacus brought none of these things (probably either the Englishman or the local Indian boys were unwilling to leave). So relations soured for a time. But the two sides made up again, and Pory resumed his journey upriver, stopping in various towns as he went. Along the way, he learned that another chief, Cassatowap, was angry with Thomas Savage. The reason was not recorded, but the strained relations indicate that Savage had acted as an interpreter if not also as a trader in one or more unrecorded English expeditions to the area. To ensure the safety of the new Englishman (Pory), Cassatowap and another chief guided him upriver until at Mattapanient, while the two Indian leaders lay "innocently" below in the English ship, there was an attempted ambush. Pory suspected collusion but "released" the two chiefs courteously and managed to return downriver in an outwardly peaceful manner. When he got back to Accomac, the Laughing King told him that Namenacus had tried to lure him to the Patuxent River, with the intent of killing him. Regrettably, Pory recorded no reasons for all these enmities, though he probably learned them because he did, after all, have an interpreter with him.

The Piscataways must have been influenced in some serious way by events unfold-



Figure 3-2. Looking down across Mockley Point, near Moyaone, and up the Potomac River to Washington, D.C. On a clear day, the Washington Monument is visible. Photo by Helen Rountree.

ing downriver after 1610. By 1619 the Patawomecks had nearly detached themselves from Powhatan's sphere of influence, but they were in no position to be closer allies of the Piscataways, rather the reverse. The English were exerting heavy pressure on them to become allies of their own, with mixed results. The Patawomecks really seem to have wanted to be autonomous from everybody while keeping other powerful Indian polities at bay. That proved difficult. In 1619 they invited the English to their town for trade and then refused to parley; the English responded by buying the corn forcibly. The next year the English returned, accompanied by the Patawomecks' former guest, Henry Spelman, to ease the parleying situation and to censure Spelman for having criticized his superior, the English governor.¹⁴ After the beginning of the Second Anglo-Powhatan War in 1622, the English forcibly established an in-residence trading mission with that tribe.¹⁵

The Patawomecks' territory did not have enough good farmland in it to allow them to raise all the corn the English wanted. We therefore suspect that they may have been something more than sellers of corn during these times. They may have provided a base of operations for the English, who were trying to feed over a thousand colonists and who may have gone a-buying to numerous other towns in the area. (The commissions to English ship captains are not clear: "Patawomeck" could mean either the town or the entire river.) Or the Patawomecks may have been acting, or trying to act, as middlemen in the corn trade, a trade which brought them valuable English goods like the metal knives needed by Indian people of both sexes in their work. Any attempt at monopoly would have made the Patawomecks less than popular with a powerful leader like the Piscataway tayac, who was already having to deal with his upriver neighbors, the Nacotchtanks/Anacostians who played middlemen with the Massawomecks. By the early 1620s, the Patawomecks had fallen out with both the Piscataways and the Nacotchtanks/Anacostians. The latter were attacked by a combined force of English and Patawomecks in the summer of 1622.¹⁶

Spelman got caught between the two sides, and it caused his death on March 27, 1623—a major blow to the English because competent interpreters were still not expendable people. If that were not bad enough, a couple of dozen Englishmen died with him. The violence seems to have taken place near Piscataway—at least, the Piscataways were later blamed for it and revenge taken upon them, though Henry Fleet wrote that the "Nacostines" upriver were the real culprits. Spelman's party had arrived in a ship with a shallop to ferry people ashore, and a local man had warned him that the townsmen were only apparently friendly. That probably was not news to Spelman, so he and his men met with the town's chief wearing armor. The chief took offense at the armor and asked Spelman the reason for it. Spelman, in a massive lapse of judgment, told the truth: he had been warned, and by that man (pointing to the one who had warned him). The chief promptly had the man seized and his head cut off and thrown into the fire. Spelman should have bidden the chief adieu at that point, but he did not. He returned the next day without armor, another foolish

move, and the trading session turned into an ambush. Spelman and nearly all the Englishmen with him were killed, their guns, gunpowder, and swords were gathered up by the killers, and their shallop was destroyed. An attack was then made on the ship. The sailors aboard hastily raised sail, and the wind for once being right, outran the canoes and escaped. The townsmen, whether Anacostian or Piscataway, would immediately have begun learning to use the captured guns, if they had not learned already. The only Englishman known to survive the ambush was Henry Fleet, who would spend the next five years among the Indians.¹⁷

A bit farther south, war was raging by then between the Jamestown English and the Powhatans, but except for the skirmishes between the Piscataways-Anacostians and the Patowomecks-English traders, the people of southern Maryland seem to have been uninvolved, sufficiently uninvolved to have the luxury of being curious. Curiosity was what the chief of the Patuxents felt when he heard that the Powhatans were going to make a stand against the English in Pamunkey territory in the summer of 1624. Not only that, he heard that the Pamunkey hosts had planted a great deal of extra corn that spring to feed their James River allies who were bearing the brunt of English raiding. He therefore sent a man south to observe the battle when it took place. The outcome cannot have been comforting to the Patuxents, whose wariness John Pory had observed three years before. The English won hands-down and chopped up all the Pamunkeys' corn.¹⁸ The battle proved to be the sunset of Powhatan power for many a year, and it would eventually free the English to begin spreading their settlements northward. For now, though, there was peace of a sort. The Patuxent chief was taken prisoner by other Englishmen during this time, but his people were selling corn to them and had guided an English party to an unidentified town ("Pocotonk") where they bought furs. The Chesapeake Bay fur trade was getting underway, the furs then being from bear, deer, wildcat, black fox, and otter. One Patuxent councilor gave interpreter Robert Poole a "lion" skin.¹⁹

There are no more English records about the Indians of southern Maryland for eight years, and then we find Henry Fleet, released from captivity and unaffiliated with the Virginia colony, operating as a fur trader, in hot competition with others, of course. He had the advantage of being his own interpreter among the Algonquian-speakers, though not with the Massawomecks. The journal he wrote in 1631-32 shows how wary, rather than hostile, the early contacts between Native people and Europeans really were. It also gives us a vivid picture of a very entrepreneurial time: a time when Virginia tried to prevent people other than her own traders from cashing in, when other traders like Fleet were swarming in (there were no Maryland traders yet, because there was no Maryland), and when most of the Indian nations along the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers were still eager for European tools. William Claiborne's activities on Kent Island, far up the Chesapeake Bay near the Wicomisses, had drawn in the Patuxents, so that by 1635 we have a record of a Patuxent man taking a Wicomiss wife.²⁰ Fleet's business, on the other hand, was with people near

the falls of the Potomac. His journal was published, with omissions, in 1876. A new transcription of it forms an Appendix to this volume.

Fleet was trying to establish firm trading relations with the Piscataways, Anacostians, and Massawomecks (Fig. 3-3), if and when he could contact the latter. But even the downriver people were not easy to deal with. When he arrived at his first stop on October 26, 1631, he found that his hosts, the Yoacomocos, had reneged on an earlier promise to save any beaver skins for him. Instead they had "burned it as the Custom^e is." The Indians of the region, it seemed, had "no use at all for it, being not accustomed to take pains to dress it and make coats of it."²¹ He extracted a promise of non-burning over the next winter and pushed upriver, his eagerness increased by what the Yoacomocos told him about "a strange populous nation called Mowhaks" [Massawomecks]: man eaters" who came from the mountains. Fleet must have known about them already, thanks to his earlier captivity, but he apparently had not seen those enemies as a source of furs until now.

Fleet, like other Europeans, knew that fur-bearing animals produce better pelts in colder regions, and at Maryland's latitude, that meant the mountains, but he could not go up into the mountains because winter was approaching. On December 6 he turned around and tried to sail for New England only to be driven back from the Capes and into the James River by adverse winds. He then went upriver to Jamestown to get provisions and check in with the Virginia governor, and remained there until early January 1632, when he did sail to New England to finish some business and pick up more provisions and also trade goods for dealing with Indians. On his return to Chesapeake Bay, he met with William Claiborne, who was establishing a trading center on Kent Island, and learned that the Virginia governor had received numerous complaints about his own trading activities. Fleet would have to be doubly on the lookout now for Virginia traders with intentions toward the Potomac River tribes. As it turned out, he also had to be wary of former friends who were now competitors. He learned at Yoacomoco, where some of his compatriots had already been waiting for him for three weeks, that a former trading partner of his named Harman had gone up the Potomac River early last winter and tried unsuccessfully to buy beaver skins. Arriving back at Yoacomoco, Harman had lied to everyone and said that Fleet was dead, so that they could trade with him, which they did. For Fleet, that ended a second year's hope of any beaver skins from the Yoacomocos.

On May 21, Fleet sent his brother and two Indian men to tell the Piscataway *tayac* he was coming to see him. He also sent other Indian men upriver to stop at towns along the way and ask that they be ready to sell their beaver skins. But when he visited the towns soon afterward, he discovered that Harman had cleaned them all out.

Fleet arrived at Piscataway, in a ship with a shallower-draft pinnace accompanying him, on June 3, 1632. The *tayac* extended his best greeting. Rather than meeting him ashore, he had himself paddled—by a district chief, not by a commoner—out

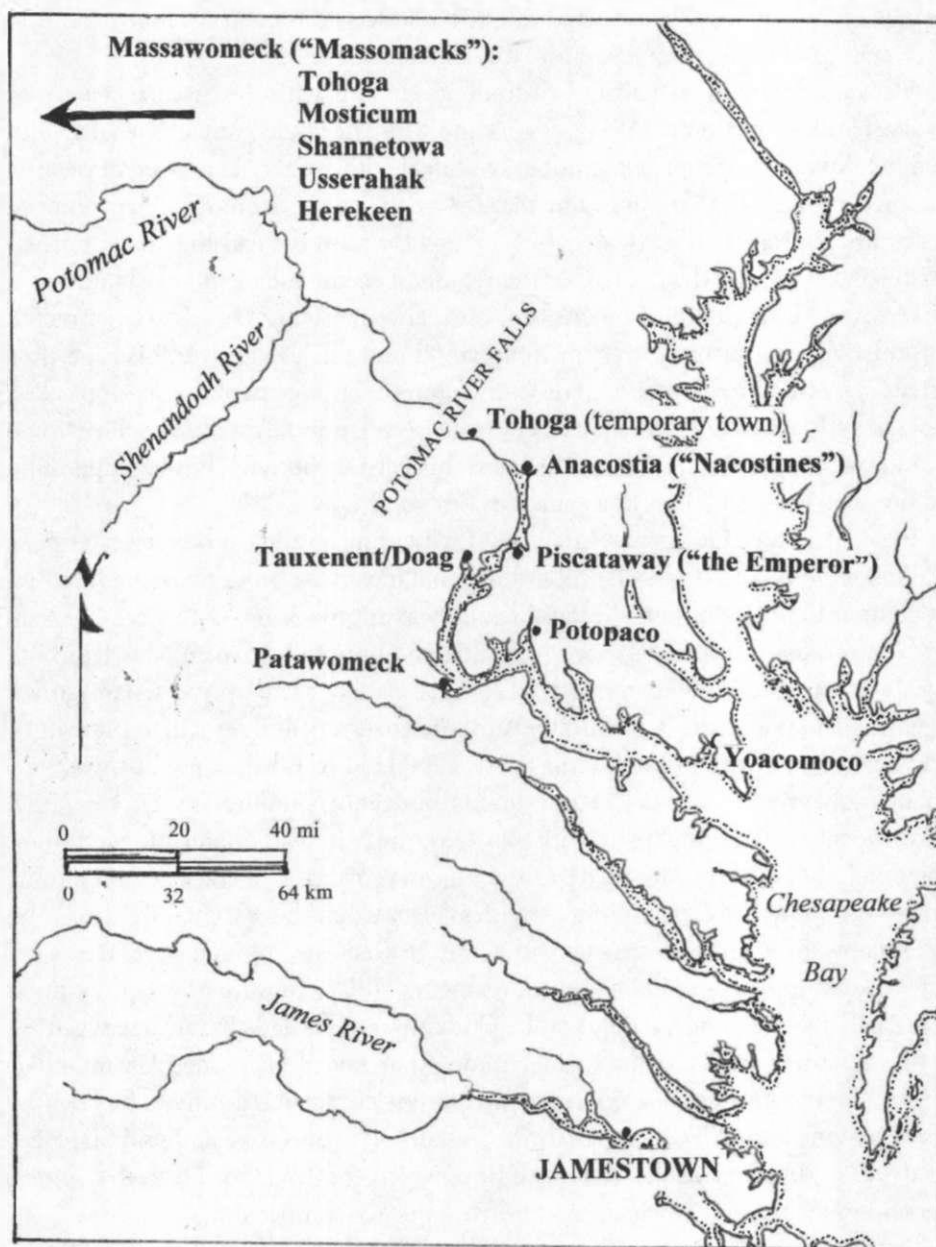


Figure 3-3. Territory visited by Henry Fleet, 1631-32. Map by Helen C. Rountree.

to the ship. There he offered apologies and excuses for letting Harman buy his town's hides, after which he presented Fleet with 114 beaver hides, which he had held back. He could not have been pleased when Fleet went on to buy hides from the Anacostians, whom Harman had not visited, and to hear that Fleet hoped to meet and trade with Massawomecks as well. Those mountain groups had made the Anacostians into

middlemen who "used to convey all such English truck [goods] as cometh into this river" into their hands, which caused jealousy and sometimes violence. Fleet wrote that the Piscataways had lost "1000 persons in my time" of captivity (1623-28), so he knew he would cause a double offense by going upriver.

Nevertheless, Fleet was "on the make" as a trader, so he persisted in trying to contact the Massawomecks. On June 13 he found and questioned an Anacostian-Massawomeck interpreter, hearing how (relatively) densely populated the Massawomeck country was and how the people there made beaver-skin coats. They were not accessible to the English by water, for the rivers they lived on would only take canoes (true of the Potomac in many places above its falls), but Fleet was cheered to hear that they were "great travelers winter and summer." So he had them summoned downriver to meet him, over the protests of the Piscataways and their downriver neighbors. A birch bark canoe of Massawomeck emissaries came to the parley and tried to persuade Fleet to trade exclusively with them. Fleet demurred. Ultimately he sent his brother Edward and two Indian men back upriver with the emissaries, telling them to hand out presents and conduct negotiations in the Massawomecks' towns. Fleet then went in the pinnace to what seems to have been a temporary town, called Tohoga (probably analogous to the sector of Massawomecks who called themselves Tohoga), located two leagues (nine miles) below the falls of the Potomac. There he stopped and waited for his brother's return, which occurred on July 3, with news that elated him. Edward Fleet had been welcomed heartily, and for the first half of his five-day journey back (as opposed to seven days going up), 110 Indians had accompanied him, laden with beaver. This escort had intended to go the whole way back to Tohoga, which would have opened direct trade between Fleet and the Massawomecks, but the Anacostians were not about to lose their middleman position. A party of them had intercepted the travelers halfway and poisoned their minds, saying that the Piscataways accompanying the Englishman planned to murder them in revenge for earlier Massawomeck raids. The Massawomecks stopped where they were and let Fleet's brother finish the journey alone.

Fleet went to the Anacostians the next morning about these intrigues, but they claimed to know nothing about anything. Instead they offered to bring the 110 Massawomecks to their town if Fleet would make "a firm league" with them and give their chief "a present" (unspecified). Fleet wrote later, "The refusal of this offer was the greatest folly that I have committed." From that moment on, the Anacostians would work against him, which also meant he had lost his interpreter.

Some of the Massawomecks came down to see Fleet anyway on July 10. They were from the Usserahak sector of the Massawomecks, and their number included a woman who could act as interpreter, which enabled Fleet to assuage any fears they had. They agreed to bring the rest of their traveling party downriver and asked Fleet to send an Englishman with them, which he did. Then on July 11, a different set of people came downriver: different attire, including a "red fringe," a much

haughtier attitude—Fleet's trade goods did not impress them—and two axes that Fleet recognized as having come from England by way of Canada. They claimed to be from the Mosticum part of the Massawomecks, but Fleet learned later that they were Herekeens, who lived closer to Canada and were in enmity with the other four groups. Another member of Fleet's party was eager to go home with them, which Fleet had to allow, and the meeting ended.

On July 15 the Usserhaks returned with their interpreter. They were dismayed to hear of the young man who had gone with the Herekeens, whom they now identified for Fleet, probably based upon his description of their appearance. They said that more of their people wanted to come downriver and view the English trade goods, to which Fleet agreed. As they left, he asked them to follow the Herekeens and retrieve the Englishman from among them.

In his pinnace, Fleet went back downriver to Piscataway on July 18, where his ship lay and where he managed to excuse his trading with their enemies. He brought sixteen Usserahaks with him, whom he had hired to bring trade goods from his ship and take them upriver to their own people to look over. The Usserahaks did so, and on August 7 they returned to Fleet's ship with the trade goods and eighty skins sent with them by the Tohogas. Nine hundred Tonhogas had been planning to come downriver by canoe, they said, in spite of more Anacostian warnings, but they had been halted by two false rumors, namely, that Fleet's trade goods were worthless and also that the Herekeens had visited Fleet and killed one of his men. The Usserahaks needed reassurance. Fleet gave it, but because he was running out of food for himself and his sailors, and the Piscataways apparently could no longer be prevailed upon, he had to take the ship and pinnace back downriver in search of provisions. He would not return upriver again, at least for that year. He arrived at Moyumps (Tauxenent on John Smith's map), where three men from Usserahak, Tohoga, and Mosticum met him. They asked him to stay there fifteen days, while they sent for their people to come and trade. Fleet agreed, but his plan was foiled on August 28 by the arrival of a force of Virginia English, who arrested him and escorted him to Jamestown. He was able to stop at Indian towns along the way and get them to promise to save skins for him, but for the time being his trading mission to the Massawomecks was at an end. Once in Jamestown, he reassured the governor of his cooperation, and as they were both English gentlemen, he was set free to go trading again, though he left no record about further activities in the Potomac River area.

THUS, ON THE EVE of the English founding their Maryland colony, a number of complex relationships were already in place among the Native people of southern Maryland. All but the Anacostians hated the Massawomecks and the Susquehannocks, who hated each other. The Anacostians were allies of the Massawomecks and eager to be middlemen for them in the fur trade, which made them distrusted by everyone downriver and also by the English traders. Everyone in southern Maryland

was willing to tolerate the Virginia English, with whom they had had some troubles in the past, because the fur trade was already proving to be profitable. When a different group of English arrived in 1634 intent upon establishing a colony separate from Virginia, the native people probably considered them to be mainly interested in trading. They would make the same mistake with the Maryland English that the Powhatans had made with the English in Virginia: they would not realize until it was too late, that the foreigners were not only interested in staying, but that they were farmers who would eventually thrive and spread out, and the native people would be the losers thereby.

NOTES

1. Smith, "Map of Va.," 165–66; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 107, 665; Strachey, *Historie*, 107. See also Fleet, "Journal," 25 et passim, and page 184 in the Appendix to this volume.
2. Fleet himself spoke a Potomac River Algonquian language after five years' captivity there in the 1620s. In 1631 he found a local interpreter who spoke one or more Massawomeck languages. "Massawomeck" was the name used by Indian people at least from the Potomac River northward. Its meaning (probably derogatory) is unknown, as is the meaning of "Poughtraonack."
3. For an overall view that is only beginning to become dated, see James Pendergast, "The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81(2) (1991). Names: Appendix to this volume, 185. Geography and letter "M": outcome of a conference of archaeologists, sponsored by Helen Rountree in 2006, including Stuart Fiedel, supplier of linguistic information. For the Susquehannock connection see, among others, Janet G. Brashler, "A Middle 16th Century Susquehannock Village in Hampshire County, West Virginia," *Pennsylvania Archeologist* 39 (1987): 1–30. Barry Kent and James Herbstritt concurred with her conclusions, while William Johnson disagreed (2006 conference). Smith, "Map of Va.," 231; Smith, "Generall Historie," 171; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 266 (Susquehannock-Massawomeck enmity). Fleet, "Journal," 30–31, and p. 187 of the Appendix to this volume (Herekeens). Bernard G. Hoffman, "Observations on Certain Ancient Tribes of the Northern Appalachian Province," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 191 (1964): 210–11, suggested that the Herekeens were Eries, which was seconded by the late Blair Rudes in a personal communication to Helen Rountree, 2006.
4. A. M. Harvill Jr., Ted R. Bradley, Charles E. Stevens, Thomas F. Wieboldt, Donna M. E. Ware, Douglas W. Ogle, Gwynn W. Ramsey, and Gary P. Fleming, *Atlas of the Virginia Flora*, 3rd ed. (Burkeville, Va.: Virginia Botanical Associates, 1992), 69, and P. E. Strasbaugh and Earl L. Cole, "Flora of West Virginia," *West Virginia Bulletin*, series 52, no. 12-2; series 63, no. 12-1; series 58, no. 12-3; series 65, no. 3-2 (1952–64), 296, place the paper birch (*Betula papyrifera*) in Virginia and West Virginia, respectively. However, new work by Alan S. Weakley, J. Christopher Ludwig, John F. Townsend, and Bland Crowder, *Flora of Virginia* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Botanical Research Institute of Texas Press, 2012), 416, 1370, indicates that there was a misidentification with a similar species (*Betula cordiformis*), at least in Virginia. The Maryland manual, Melvin L. Brown and Russell G. Brown, *Woody Plants of Maryland* (Baltimore: Port City Press, 1972), has no entry for paper birch. Presumably the Blue Ridge and Alleghenies are not high (and therefore cold) enough at Maryland's latitude.

5. Page 185 in Appendix to this volume (travelers; omitted in Neill's 1876 transcription). Ibid.: 4, and Fleet, "Journal," 25 (truce with Nacotchtanks). Smith, "True Relation," 56; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 161 (killing Patawomecks and Piscataways). Smith, "Map of Va.," 230–31; Smith, "Generall Historie," 170–71; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 265–66 (raiding Tockwoghs). Spelman, "Relation of Virginia," cxiv; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 494 (raiding Patawomecks). Fleet, "Journal," 26, and p. 185 of the Appendix to this volume (having raided Piscataways). Smith, "Map of Va.," 232; Smith, "Generall Historie," 172; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 268; Fleet, "Journal," 31 and p. 187 of the Appendix to this volume (weapons from French; Fleet wrote that Herekeens had axes similar to those of a London merchant, and they got them 15 days' journey north, i.e., in Canada). Smith, "Map of Va.," 166; Smith, "Generall Historie," 119; Strachey, *Historie of Travell*, 108; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 666; Fleet, "Journal," 26, and p. 185 of the Appendix to this volume (birchbark canoes). People living along the upper Potomac River could reach the head of Chesapeake Bay fairly easily, through the supposedly "trackless" wilderness, by canoe and an overland portage thanks to the layout of the waterways: they could go down the Potomac, up the Monocacy River, east on Bush Creek, whose headwaters reach (near Mt. Airy, Md.) within a mile of the headwaters of the South Branch of the Patapsco River, then down the Patapsco to the bay. The distance between Bush Creek's mouth and the junction of the north and south branches of the Patapsco is about 25 miles or 40 kilometers (U.S.G.S. topographic maps), and the actual portage along those small streams was probably less than that for birchbark canoes. The stretch west of Mt. Airy is followed today by Interstate 70 and U.S. 40; it was formerly part of the Old National Turnpike, indicating that the route is very old, probably reaching back into Indian times.
6. Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570–1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Charlotte M. Gradie, "Spanish Jesuits in Virginia: The Mission that Failed," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 96 (1088): 131–56; Charlotte M. Gradie, "The Powhatans in the Context of the Spanish Empire," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500–1722*, ed. Helen C. Rountree (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 154–72. For a wider study of Spanish explorations and missionizing along the Atlantic coast, see Paul Hoffman, "New Light on Vincente Gonzales's 1585 Voyage in Search of Raleigh's English Colonies," *North Carolina Historical Review* 63 (1986): 199–223, and idem., *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).
7. Lewis and Loomie, *Spanish Jesuit Mission*, 56.
8. Original documents: David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590* (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society. Series 2, Vol. 104 [1955]). Interpretive works: David Beers Quinn, "Thomas Hariot and the Virginia Voyages of 1602," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser.) 27 (1970): 268–81; idem, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481–1620* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974); idem, *North America From Earliest Discovery to First Settlement* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977); idem, *The Lost Colonists and Their Probable Fate* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984); idem, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1980); idem, *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); and idem, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).
9. Thomas Canner, "A Relation of the Voyage Made to Virginia in the Elizabeth of London . . . in the Yeere 1603," in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes.*, ed. Samuel Purchas (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904–1906), 18:329–35.

10. Smith, "Map of Va.," 224-33; Smith, "Generall Historie," 162-78; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 254-76.
11. Samuel Argall, "A Letter of Sir Samuel Argall touching his Voyage to Virginia, and Actions There: Written to Master Nicholas Hawes" [1613], in Purchas, ed., *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 19:90-95. Spelman, "Relation of Virginia"; Strachey, *Historie*, 46-47; Haile, *Jamestown Narratives*, 482-95 (Spelman), 606 (Strachey), 752-56 (Argall).
12. Smith, "Generall Historie," 288-90.
13. Pory wrote in the same account that the "Laughing King" at Accomac [near modern Cheriton] was the titular ruler but an easy-going man who allowed his more energetic younger brother, Kiptopeke, to do the active ruling from his base at Occohanooch. Virginia land patents reveal the Laughing King's proper name to be Esmy Shichans.
14. Kingsbury, *Va. Co. Recs.*, 3:147 and 268 (1619), 242 and 244-45 (Spelman).
15. Smith, *Generall Historie*, 304ff.
16. *Ibid.*, 305, 309. Smith actually lists the Piscataways and Anacostians plus the Moyaons; the list is also the first mention in English records of the Piscataways under that name. Cissna, "Piscataway Ethnohistory" (Ph.D. diss., American University, 1986), 121, suggests that the Piscataways and the Moyaons may still have been separate; we suggest that the names represent two separate towns, and that the tayac may have been in the process of changing his capital to Piscataway.
17. Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4:61, 89, 105, 108-9; *ibid.*: 450 (Piscataways blamed); Fleet, "Journal," 25, and p. 184 of the Appendix to this volume (Anacostians blamed). Fleet says only that he was "detained in this river," without specifying where he lived.
18. Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4:450-51, 507-8.
19. Anonymous, "Relation . . . 1634," 74 (capture); H. R. McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676*, 2nd ed. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1979 [1924]), 29-30 (trading).
20. Anonymous, "Relation . . . 1634," 89.
21. Fleet, "Journal," 20, 24; pp. 181, 183 of the Appendix to this volume.



Richard Collett's Maryland. Detail, John Speed, Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1676. (Maryland Historical Society.)

“Convicted of a Scandalous Offence against the Government”: Political Culture and the English Civil War in Colonial Maryland

STEVEN CARL SMITH

In April 1655, a sheriff named Richard Collett was banished from the proprietary colony of Maryland. According to records of the provincial court, Collett was “Convicted of a Scandalous offence against the Governmt by his Subscribint of a Petitiion of Dangerous Contnents.” Collett arrived in 1650, a refugee of England’s civil wars, and emerged as an impromptu attorney before landing a position as the high sheriff of Calvert County after winning favor from the colony’s ruling party. Fifteen months after his banishment, he reappeared and eventually took up his old office of high sheriff in Calvert County. Collett’s life ended dramatically in 1668, following a brutal assault by Captain Thomas Manning, a fellow middling political appointee who often sat next to him during sessions of the Calvert County court. Collett’s banishment, and eventual death at the hands of a violent, unhinged fellow landholder offers a compelling example of just how profoundly unstable the political infrastructure of Maryland was in the seventeenth century.¹

Shortly after Collett’s arrival, Maryland fell into religious and political turmoil, as confessional and political disputes not resolved in Britain arrived on the colony’s shores along with scores of ambitious young men. Collett was a participant in and political casualty of the mid-century civil war that rocked the colony. This conflict, and the series of political crises that followed in the 1670s and 1680s, grew out of a long-standing controversy over the “nature of the English constitution.” Collett and his family were caught between the equally polarizing establishment of Maryland by a Catholic family and the crisis of the English Civil War. These two conflicts, separated by the Atlantic Ocean, came crashing together in the mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Richard Collett was one of the many casualties of this perfect storm, and his experience in England and Maryland allows us to trace the ligaments of political and religious conflict in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world.²

Little Gidding

Richard Collett’s life began auspiciously. Born in 1602 in Cambridgeshire, England,

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he was one of sixteen children of John and Susanna Collett. Following an outbreak of the black plague in London, the couple moved their sprawling family to Huntingdonshire, about thirty miles outside Cambridge, to be part of a small religious community known as Little Gidding. Richard's uncle, Nicholas Ferrar, the son of a London merchant and a deputy of the Virginia Company, had founded Little Gidding to pursue an austere, godly life after the company had gone bust. The community became, in a way, the intellectual center of the company's failed efforts in Virginia. After extensive repairs to an old church and house, Ferrar and his followers built a school for local children, an almshouse, and a dispensary to provide medicine for the surrounding region. This community of forty or so people was the culmination of Ferrar's vision of an ideal Anglican society.³

Although Little Gidding was modeled on the typical, hierarchical household of early modern English society, Nicholas Ferrar, the man to whom the small community looked for leadership, both spiritual and practical, was not afraid to involve women as well as men in the decision-making process. Management of the household, and thus the means of Little Gidding's daily subsistence, fell to Richard Collett's mother Susanna—Nicholas Ferrar's sister—and Collett's two oldest sisters, Mary and Anna. Mary, a celibate woman of means and likely caretaker to young Richard, essentially shared the burden of leadership with her uncle Nicholas. Though she was never recognized formally as either one of the leaders or *the* leader of Little Gidding, the community nevertheless looked to her for guidance.

Richard and his wife Elizabeth were part of a remarkable community of women at Little Gidding. We know little about Elizabeth, but we do know a great deal about the women, such as Richard's older sisters and his younger cousin Virginia Ferrar, whom Elizabeth would have considered mentors, peers, friends, and family. In particular, scholars have highlighted what became known as the "Little Academy," a discussion and educational program at Little Gidding that consisted of the Ferrar and Collett women. The Little Academy was just one aspect of the community's educational apparatus. Young boys attended the school, while their older brothers, presumably including Richard, were sent to London to apprentice in various trades and professions. The Little Academy, by contrast, was created by and for the older Ferrar and Collett sisters. When it met, the sisters engaged in a Socratic dialogue on a pre-determined topic.

The Little Academy, as historian Kate E. Riley points out, was atypical in early modern England. Outside aristocratic circles, it would have been unusual for young women to practice oratory and engage in leisurely or scholarly pursuits. In addition to their intellectual engagement, women at Little Gidding had authorial and even imperial ambitions. Virginia Ferrar, who was named after the Virginia colony, worked side-by-side with her father, John Ferrar, to author texts for the colonial and metropolitan reader alike, including a 1667 map of Virginia directly attributed to her pen. On top of learning typical household tasks, Virginia Ferrar and her sisters and

cousins were also invested in making books, which included mastering the art of printing and binding. According to the seventeenth-century observer Thomas Fuller, the women at Little Gidding were "employed in learned and pious work to binde Bibles" including a text "most exactly done" and thus "presented to King Charles."⁴

The establishment of Little Gidding, small and austere as it was, can also be seen as bold political statement. Despite residing in the largely Parliamentarian Huntingdonshire during the English Civil War, the Ferrar and Collett families had been nominal supporters of King Charles I, who grew to admire this esoteric religious community and their hand-stitched books. In May 1636, for example, William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, presented a gospel harmony he had commissioned along with John Cosin to Charles I. Evidently pleased with the work, Charles requested that the community create for him a volume that integrated several books of the Old Testament, a text that John and Nicholas personally delivered to Whitehall in April 1640, less than two weeks before the first meeting of the Short Parliament. Charles I, with or without his handmade books, visited the small community twice in the 1640s. His first visit occurred just prior to the opening shots of the First Civil War as he journeyed to Yorkshire in March 1642; his second visit was under far more dire circumstances.⁵

Little Gidding's political grandstanding did not come without hardships. Following the outbreak of hostilities between the Parliamentarians and the Royalists, John Ferrar, who assumed leadership of the community following the death of his brother, realized that remaining in Huntingdonshire was becoming increasingly dangerous. Fearing violence at the hands of Parliamentarians, the Ferrar and Collett families abandoned Little Gidding. In a letter to his son, John Ferrar explained his decision:

We were faine to Submitt to a longe Sequestration for then the Waues Raged horribly but that was not all to Saue our Consciences from what was Imposed that that might not Ruine alsoe We rather resolved to leaue our Native Country and soe I tooke you [&] my [Virginia Ferrar] and Went beyound sea and some of our Dearest Freinds fellowes in our Missery did accompayny vs beyound sea This being our Case and knowinge our best helpe and Comforte must be in god he having safely brought us in to an other land.

The Ferrar family and their "Dearest Freinds" lived in exile for two years, possibly in Holland. The fragmentation of Little Gidding would result in members of the community facing persecution during the civil wars.⁶

John Ferrar and his family returned to Little Gidding in late 1645 or early 1646, at a time when the community became a refuge for Royalist military forces. In April 1646, Charles I made his second visit, this time seeking sanctuary after the disastrous Battle of Naseby. While there is no doubt that John Ferrar and his followers supported the king, Ferrar was adamant that Charles not remain long at

Little Gidding because Parliamentary agents patrolled the area. He instead directed the king to stay in the village of Coppingford, where he knew enemy forces seldom ventured. Shortly thereafter, Little Gidding suffered a stinging rebuke from the Parliamentarians. Late in the summer of 1646, as legend has it, the community was allegedly sacked by Puritan soldiers, who may have dismantled a great deal of the manor, including the church organ, and who did plunder much of the furniture and provisions. It is likely that Richard Collett witnessed the persecution first-hand. His migration to Maryland, then, can be interpreted more as a forced exile and less as an opportunistic venture.⁷

In light of recent scholarship on the Little Gidding community, it is also likely that confessional politics and continued imperial ambition influenced Richard Collett's choice of Maryland as a landing point. Little Gidding, though not Catholic, was ostensibly High Anglican. The community was thus viewed by contemporary observers and critics alike as being religiously eccentric, given the adoption of several methods of worship and spiritual observance that were at least inspired by Roman traditions: contemplation, asceticism, and celibacy. To some, Little Gidding resembled a monastery. The large Ferrar-Collett household, located on private, isolated land in Huntingdonshire, was spatially and hierarchically organized in such a way that the many unwed men and women lived in separate quarters at opposite ends of the home. The fabric of everyday life centered on chapel attendance and a work cycle meant to sustain their basic material well-being and, above all, their devotion to God. At the very least, the community resembled other Catholic households in seventeenth-century England, such as a Newcastle residence that housed Jesuits that regularly provided mass.⁸

Despite retreating from London, and seemingly retired from any sort of material and imperial pursuits, the Ferrar-Colletts were still very ambitious and remained in contact with the London business world. Nicholas Ferrar was so attentive to his business pursuits that John felt he was not fully invested in the spiritual health of the community. Nicholas and many of the men at Little Gidding were evidently mobile enough to attend to the community's business interests in London and elsewhere. John was involved for a time in the Skinners' Company in 1630, and the two brothers joined in a short-lived effort to revive the Virginia Company in 1631. To that end, John maintained a correspondence with several planters in the Chesapeake, and his daughter Virginia often penned his letters as an amanuensis, so much so that she was, according to Michael Lloyd Ferrar, "as well known to the people of Virginia as if she lived there." She continued to conduct her father's business in the colony long after his death, becoming so entangled in the commercial and political lives of Virginians that she became something of an expert, Michael Ferrar claimed, on "the colony and its conditions."⁹

It is reasonable to argue that the Little Gidding community had specific political and spiritual interests in re-establishing a connection to the Chesapeake region.

Not only did Richard Collett's arrival create a bridge between High Anglican Little Gidding and recently established Catholic Maryland, it helped assuage the Ferrar family's earlier failures in Virginia. By doing so, the Ferrar-Collett clan could then claim a measure of influence in the colony's confessional politics.

Arrival

The Maryland that greeted Richard Collett was as diverse geographically, agriculturally, and socially as it was politically divisive. As a High Anglican-Royalist, Collett was potentially at odds with the two dominant factions in the province: the Catholic Proprietary party and the Puritan Parliamentarians. While he surely had hoped to extricate himself from such strife by leaving war-torn England behind, what he encountered were more political and confessional schisms. Indeed, the religious toleration envisioned by the Calvert family was beginning to spiral into outright conflict.

The circumstances surrounding Richard Collett's immigration to Maryland are somewhat murky. He arrived in 1650, most likely after the death of his father in March of that year. In 1651 his younger brother John arrived. Richard had left behind his wife Elizabeth, who was eventually transported to Maryland in either 1658 or 1664, depending on the source. That was a common practice, and settlements during this period were marked by a pronounced gender imbalance. Although the gender gap had decreased to three men for every woman by the time Elizabeth rejoined him, this disparity, revealed in headright lists, is a mark of what historian Russell Menard has called a "severe sexual imbalance."¹⁰

Why did Richard Collett leave his wife behind in war-torn England? Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh have speculated that few, if any, women chose to leave behind family and community to migrate to the unknown Maryland wilderness. That may explain Elizabeth Collett's delay. Even though her kinship network became increasingly fractured as a result of religious and political persecution, she had married into a sprawling clan and may have been reluctant to leave for even more uncertainty in Maryland. Possibly she remained in England to attend to the family's financial affairs. Health may have also been a concern. Newly arrived Marylanders usually fell ill, frequently with malaria, and women faced the additional dangers of pregnancy and childbirth.¹¹

It is also worth pointing out Richard Collett's age—forty-eight—on his arrival in 1650, nearly double the average age of recent immigrants. According to Menard, of the 119 free male immigrants who served as justices of the peace, sheriffs, or assemblymen in seventeenth-century Maryland, only 11.8 percent were over the age of forty when they landed in the Chesapeake. Indeed, the average age of officers upon their arrival was 28.5, with the median being twenty-seven. Why would Collett, at such an advanced age, risk death by coming to Maryland? His bold gambit to migrate suggests two possible motivations. First, it is likely that he was the target of

persecution in England due to his association with the Little Gidding community. On the other hand, he might have been lured by the potential for acquiring his own land—sufficient motivation to uproot and leave his family behind, at least for the time being.¹²

Collett first appears in the historical record four years after his arrival, when several Maryland landowners presented “letters of attorney” to the provincial court. As legal documents that granted power of attorney, letters of attorney allowed just about anyone to act as a barrister within the framework of the legal system, with or without professional credentials. Letters of attorney grew progressively more complex as the line between “power of attorney” and “warrant of attorney”—which granted someone acting as an attorney power to retrieve outstanding debts on behalf of the client—became increasingly blurred in seventeenth-century Maryland. The attorney-client relationship soon reflected social and political networks, as landowners and merchants alike wanted their close friends to represent them in court. The handful of cases in which Collett took part suggests that this sort of confluence of friendship and legal representation was as ordinary as it was widespread. For example, in April 1654, Lawrence Ward of Virginia constituted his “friend mr Richard Collett” his “Lawfull Attorney” to “receive all Such debts as are due to me in Putuxent River in the Province of Maryland,” to be done “as I my Self were present.” At the same session of the court, Collett presented a letter of attorney from John Davis, a small Catholic landholder and part-time carpenter, that granted him a variety of powers. Davis’s St. Mary’s County estate was valued at one hundred acres, and he asked Collett to “receive and pay, to arrest, plead and imprison, to release quitt and Discharge for me in my Name” several thousand pounds of tobacco and a “hog worth 250 of Tob:” from Robert Taylor, who happened to be in debt to Ward. Taylor, a substantial landholder who owned contracts of at least twenty-six servants from 1651 until his death in 1660, was ordered by the court to pay both Ward and Davis their respective debts, with Ward receiving 352 pounds of tobacco and Davis receiving his hog worth 250 pounds of tobacco. What is not revealed in the settlements is just how much Collett profited from these friendly arrangements.¹³

Collett’s political profile seemed to be on the rise after his appearance in court as an attorney. Despite his own religious beliefs, his career eventually became entangled with the Catholic Proprietary party. In July 1654, the same year that Calvert County was incorporated into the colony, Collett was appointed to be the new jurisdiction’s “high Sheriff” by Governor William Stone, a man whose time in office was marked by constant conflict.

This act of political patronage would have far-reaching consequences for Collett and his family, for with this appointment, Stone granted Collett significant power in Calvert County. Sheriffs were paid administrators who made arrests, collected taxes, ran the county jail, gathered and paid fees for fellow officials, and oversaw Assembly elections, while also reserving the power to raise a militia in order to take care of

domestic unrest. The county sheriff, then, was a position that required a great deal of savvy. Indeed, the eighteenth-century attorney general Stephen Bordley pointed out that "the Sheriffs office [was] a place of either Considerable gain or . . . Considerable loss; & the difference turns upon . . . Care, Exactness & diligence in the Execution of it." Sheriffs were often used by officials as public muscle. Edward English, for example, was known to have terrorized Cecil County in the 1680s, causing numerous landholders to file complaints to the colonial council:

[Joseph Hawkins] likewise saith that since his Ldsp had made Mr Edwaard English high Sheriff of Caecil County he had behaved himself very high and arrogantly to the people there not sticking to say that since his Lspp had given him the Comand of the County the people must and should love him and feare him, and that he hath heard that Mr English or his Subsheriff should threaten and give out publickly that when they went about to Receive the Rents and leavys they would meete with some particular persons that had sett their hands to a petition and they would strip draw and tumble their Tobacco Sufficiently.¹⁴

It is not clear whether Richard Collett ever abused his office, but he did use his authority to regulate the pace of daily life in Calvert County. Collett was charged with keeping the peace in a county that was still very much a sparsely settled frontier, where violence and lawlessness were all too common. In November 1660, Governor Phillip Calvert ordered Collett "to raise the greatest number of men yow can, and wth them to march away to the Mill imediatly" to investigate and stamp out a public disturbance. Calvert was so confident in Collett's ability to maintain order that he commented before the colonial assembly that Collett possessed the "fidelity and readiness to doe . . . service in preseruing the Countrey in peace." Further, in March 1663, Calvert ordered Collett to investigate and several seize ships suspected of smuggling tobacco out of the province.

I doe hereby impower yow the sd Rich Collett (in such Case yow shall judge it needful & requisite) to press Men Ammunition & Armes for the more speedy surprizing & seising such Barke, Catch Sloope & other Vessell exporting To hence & not having made such entry as is requisite, Contrary to the Act of Navigacon, & the Law & order of this Province.

After investigating the incident, Collett reported to the court that he had seized a ship from Boston named *The Content* and discovered that the captain, Joseph Winslow, "had Laden on Board his Vessell several hogsheads of Tob, of the groath of this Prouince, before hee had entred into Bond here according to the Act of the high Court of Parliamt in England for encouraging & encreasing of shipping of nauigaon."¹⁵ Collett, it seems, was well on his way to becoming an important man on the ground in the colony's political apparatus.

Despite the hardships the position entailed, Richard Collett, it seems, was a man on the make. While he apparently gained the favor of the Catholic proprietors and their governors, he and his wife Elizabeth lived modestly. It is likely that Collett relied on public service to support his family, since he apparently failed as a farmer in the competitive Chesapeake tobacco market. At the time of his death in 1668, Collett possessed little material wealth. In addition to the land he bequeathed her, Elizabeth received two mares with colts, all of the cattle and hogs, debts owed to him, sheriff's fees, all household items, and a small piece of land Richard had recently acquired. Although the will does not indicate what household items the family possessed, prosperous households during this period typically had individual chairs, several candles, pewter dining dishes, more beds with better fabric, a wider selection of cooking vessels, and occasionally pictures and looking glasses. The material well-being of a modest life in seventeenth-century Maryland, on the other hand, centered on practical necessities such as a bed, a handful of cooking pots, a storage chest, a table, and a gun, and it is not clear—insofar as the will indicates, at least—whether the Colletts ever realized these circumstances. It is also worth noting that Richard Collett's socialization at Little Gidding, which emphasized individual and collective austerity, may have influenced him materially in addition to spiritually. That he was raised in a community that taught him to live a godly life without excessive material comfort may explain why at the time of his death his home contained only the bare necessities needed in the Maryland wilderness.¹⁶

Land and Rebellion

Richard Collett was probably drawn to Maryland by the promise of religious toleration as much as he was by the potential for owning land. The colony as envisioned by George and Cecil Calvert mirrored a traditional, English manorial society based on feudalism, aristocracy, patriarchal households, nucleated settlements, religious toleration, and an economy of fur trading, farming, and household manufacturing. As historian John Krugler points out, the Calverts, as Catholic colonizers, faced an uphill battle convincing the Protestant government in England that they were committed to expanding the crown's domain. The Calvert family assumed that they could assuage competing confessional politics by demonstrating that neither "English" nor "Catholic" were mutually exclusive and that Catholic colonizers could act with the mother country in mind. In order to ease concerns in London, Cecil Calvert was determined to organize his colony around land, loyalty, and liberty of conscience. Relying on the manorial system, the Calverts sought to attract the young sons of the English gentry, for there was much more opportunity to enhance status and wealth in Maryland than in England. The manorial system, they hoped, would produce a familiar hierarchical society based on land and rents which, in turn, would theoretically encourage loyalty to the proprietor. Granting religious freedom, they reasoned, would reduce some of the roadblocks they faced as Catholic colonizers.

Religious toleration in Maryland—which the Calverts hoped would ensure cooperation between Protestants and Catholics and foster loyalty to the proprietors—was meant to prevent any potential political and confessional conflict that could arise in London or the colony.¹⁷

During the first decade that Richard Collett lived in Maryland, the political and religious strife of the English Civil War that he left behind in 1650 followed him to the Chesapeake Bay. In order to fend off aggressive claims to their authority, in North America as well as in London, the Calvert family had to distance themselves from their confessional politics. In so doing, they bowed to the interests of a group of London tobacco merchants, a Protestant community with ties to the Calvert family's enemies in Virginia, who had actively tried to undermine their authority in Maryland and London by lobbying to have their proprietary charter revoked. Forced into a corner, in 1649 the Calverts made a largely symbolic gesture: they appointed a Virginia Protestant, William Stone, to be the new provincial governor. This bold choice was, initially at least, a savvy political maneuver by Lord Baltimore for two reasons. First, Stone had political connections within the London merchant community that had tried, unsuccessfully, to undermine Baltimore's authority in order to gain a greater measure of control of the colony for themselves. The appointment of Stone to the governor's office was, on the surface at least, a way to calm the tensions between London merchants and the Calverts. Second, Stone used his influence in Virginia to encourage a large Puritan community, led by Richard Bennett, to relocate to Maryland. The Puritans, by moving across the Chesapeake Bay, were thus able to avoid persecution by Virginia governor William Berkeley, as staunch an Anglican as he was a Royalist. Indeed, the appointment of Stone and the arrival of Bennett created a political climate in which the Maryland Assembly ratified the Act Concerning Religion in 1649, a law meant to calm growing tensions between Catholics and Protestants in the colony.¹⁸

Religious toleration, however it was initially envisioned, was not necessarily what it seemed when put into actual practice. Constantly at issue was the question of whether a Catholic could be loyal to and serve the interest of England. Thanks to the 1649 statute that granted freedom of confessional practice, more Puritans than either Anglicans or Catholics expressed interest in migrating to Maryland, and perhaps most significantly, they also had the means to do so. This settlement pattern had far-ranging political ramifications. As they considered how to best protect Catholic settlers and ensure that their colony would prosper, the Calvert family made the conscious decision to make confessional identity one less barrier to residency in Maryland.¹⁹

William Stone's encouragement of the Puritan migration was consistent with the designs of the proprietors, who hoped to attract a diverse population in order to solidify the colony's economy. This sentiment is revealed in Stone's commission. "William Stone now or late of Northampton County in Virginia Esqr," the commis-

sion stated, "hath undertaken in some short time to procure five hundred People of British or Irish descent to Come from other places and plant and reside within our said Province of Maryland for the advancement of our colony." It was likely that some of the five hundred settlers Stone brought with him to Maryland in 1649 were indeed the Puritans who would engineer a coup five years later. Stone, of course, had no reason to believe that this act of good will would have the disastrous political consequences it did, and his faith in his Virginia neighbors ultimately brought the colony to the brink of civil war.²⁰

Despite Lord Baltimore's efforts to encourage religious unity and economic stability in his family's colony, Stone's appointment had the opposite effect. In the early months of 1652, William Claiborne and Richard Bennett, commissioners appointed by the new Parliamentary government in England to establish the legitimacy of the English Commonwealth in the Chesapeake, removed Stone and his council. For Claiborne, at least, the hostile takeover was the culmination of a bitter twenty-year feud with Lord Baltimore over the threat that the establishment of Maryland posed to Virginia landowners and the controversy surrounding Claiborne's trading post on Kent Island, which Lord Baltimore took for his own in 1638. Stone refused to acknowledge the commonwealth's claim to authority in Maryland and vowed instead to uphold Lord Baltimore's charter. As a way to further solidify their claim to power, Claiborne and Bennett dissolved the provincial court. And while mounting tensions were assuaged somewhat in July 1652 when Governor Stone and his council were allowed to resume their duties, the next two years witnessed heightened anxieties and continued jostling for power between Claiborne, Bennett, and Stone's proprietary administration.²¹

The conflict climaxed in July 1654 when hostile Protestants who had supported Claiborne and Bennett's Parliamentary commission removed Stone and his supporters; Stone was in turn replaced by a Puritan council loyal to the English Commonwealth. Frustrated and without much recourse, Lord Baltimore ordered Stone to restore the proprietary government by any means necessary. After unsuccessfully attempting to compel areas in Anne Arundel County and Kent Island to consent to his authority, Stone hedged a desperate bet. Completely unable to resolve the crisis by either diplomacy or coercion, Stone decided, erroneously, to retake the colony by force. In March 1655, on the banks of the Severn River, Stone led a force of approximately 130 men against a Puritan militia led by William Fuller that included more than one hundred seasoned veterans of Oliver Cromwell's armies. Stone's rag-tag cavalier army was no match for Fuller's men, and the Puritan forces swept the field, losing only four from their ranks while slaughtering fifty of Stone's men. Stone, who was wounded in the shoulder, Josias Fendall, and ten high-ranking officials were arrested in the aftermath. Although Stone and Fendall were eventually spared, the Parliamentary commissioners executed four of Stone's men. The Puritans, having finally ousted the proprietary government, maintained a tenuous hold on the colony until 1657.²²

Shortly after Stone's defeat in March 1655, Richard Collett received news that he was banished from the colony for signing what was likely an anti-Puritan petition. The ruling, dated April 1655, reads:

Richard Collet being Convicted of a Scandalous offence against the Governmt by his Subscribint of a Petitiion of Dangerous Contnets and Consequence Shall be banished from this Province and give Security for his Good abearance to the present Governmt until he Shall give Notice unto mr Lawrence Ward in Virginia part of whose Estate the Said Collett doth Manage in Putuxent River to appoint another in his room and Shall have Six weeks time for that dispatch and pay 10001 of Tob: to the Publick if his Security be taken as Sufficent for his good abearance aforesaid he may stay till the 25th of December.

Collett was not the only casualty of the civil war between the Puritan commissioners and Governor Stone. William Evans was "Convicted of high offence against the Publick by a Subscription under his own hand to a petition" but eventually asked for mercy from the commissioners. As punishment, he was ordered to pay two thousand pounds of tobacco "towards the Publick damage occasioned in the late Warr raised by Capt Stone and his Complices." John Ashcombe confessed that "he was in Drink" which caused him, presumably, to write his name on a petition supporting Stone; like Evans, he was also fined two thousand pounds of tobacco. Ashcombe and Evans, and perhaps numerous others not listed in available records, acknowledged the legitimacy of the triumphant Parliamentary government and received leniency for their newfound loyalty. "The Petitioners of Putuxent are discharged from the Contents," the ruling stated, "and Damage thereof by an Act of favour past unto them by this Court upon the acknowledgment of their offence and free Submission to the Present Governmt." Collett, on the other hand, refused to recognize the authority of the new government and was banished from the colony, apparently for good.²³

The petition Collett signed has not survived, so it is impossible to know exactly how its "Dangerous Contnets" threatened the Parliamentary government. Why, then, was Richard Collett banished when others received only fines for signing petitions supporting Stone? The most likely answer is that Collett simply refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new government, especially since he owed much of his political life, however fleeting it was, to Stone and the Catholic proprietors. But other questions arise that are not easily answered. First, was he involved in Stone's failed rebellion? Did he author the petition? Or, did more sinister motivations lurk under the surface? Given Collett's checkered confessional past as an Anglican who supported the Crown, which made him an outcast first in his home country and then in his adopted country, it is compelling to imagine that Collett's second forced exile was as religious as it was political and that he was thus caught up in a larger transatlantic struggle between Anglicans, Puritans, Royalists, and Catholics that was far beyond his control.²⁴

Reinstatement

It is unclear where Collett went after he was banished or if he even left at all. One possibility is that he was able to call upon one of Virginia Ferrar's many New World correspondents and thus fled across the Chesapeake in search of sanctuary. What is certain, though, is that Collett was back in Maryland fifteen months later. After he had presumably left the colony, the new government, now under the control of Claiborne and Bennett, relocated from St. Mary's City to a Puritan stronghold in Calvert County between the Severn and Patuxent Rivers. In June 1656, Collett filed a letter of attorney on behalf of Thomas Connery, a small landholder who had migrated from Virginia to the Patuxent River region in 1652. Shortly thereafter, Collett presented another letter of attorney to the court on behalf of Captain Edward Streeter. Why did Richard Collett suddenly reappear in the Maryland after a forced exile, and why was he allowed to return to the colony and seemingly pick up where he left off as an attorney to local landholders?²⁵

There are two ways to think about Richard Collett's sudden reappearance before the court that had banished him in April 1655. The first possible but highly unlikely circumstance was that Collett gave in and recognized the new Puritan regime in order to regain not only his status as attorney to middling landholders but his own modest estate in Calvert County as well. The second, more likely, scenario is that Collett may have been aware of Lord Baltimore and Josias Fendall's attempts to regain control of the colony. After he was released from prison for his role in William Stone's disastrous rebellion, Fendall assumed "a pretended power from Capt William Stone to the great hindrance of the public affairs and to the distraction and Damage of the people" by openly provoking "the disturbance of the publick peace & Government." This was despite having taken an "oath" to submit to the new Puritan regime. Consequently, Fendall was forced to return to prison:

It is therefore ordered by this present Court that in regard the said Josias Fendall hath & Still doth give Just ground of Suspition of his dangerousness to the publick peace of this Province, if he Should enjoy his liberty, He the Said Josias Fendall Shall goe to the place from whence he Came a prisoner and there abide in safe Custody until the Matters of Governmt in the Province of Maryland Shall be further Settled and fully determined by his highness the Lord Protector of England and Councell of State upon a Legall hearing, To which also the Said Josias Fendall doth Consent in Court.²⁶

In 1657, Lord Baltimore regained control of his colony after he brokered a peace with Oliver Cromwell. With Edward Diggs serving as mediator, Baltimore negotiated an end to the "bloodshed & great distempers" that put his colony "in a very sad distracted & unsettled condition." In so doing, he struck a deal with Bennett, Claiborne, and their faction that allowed the Puritan commissioners, and anyone

who supported their government, to remain in Maryland "with all the same rights as they might have had if the said Controversies & differences had not hapned." To remain in Lord Baltimore's Maryland came with a stipulation, though: the Puritans had to support and uphold freedom of conscience outlined in the 1649 Act Concerning Religion. Indeed, Lord Baltimore maintained that he would "never give his assent to the repeale of a lawe established heertofore in Maryland" whereby "all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ have freedom of Conscience." Religious toleration, it seems, had returned to Maryland with the reinstatement of the proprietary authorities.²⁷

After regaining power from the Puritan commissioners, Lord Baltimore appointed Fendall to govern his colony. According to the governor and council proceedings, Fendall rose to this post "for the good cherishing and supporting of the good people and well affected, as for the punishment of the vicious and disorderly persons," namely the Puritan interlopers Bennett and Claiborne. Fendall was granted two thousand acres and was instructed by Lord Baltimore to restore the colony to *status quo ante bellum*. He also asked Fendall to enforce the 1649 Act Concerning Religion that the Puritan commissioners had abolished. At the end of his orders, the proprietor requested that Fendall consider men that continued to support the Proprietary party during the civil war for positions in the new government:

That they cherish & comfort in what they can all such persons as haue approved themselues faithful to his LoP and don good service in the late troubles there: that his LoPS said LieuT preferre those persons before any others to such places & employments of trust & profit as they may be respectively capeable of.

Although Richard Collett was not mentioned specifically by Lord Baltimore, the proprietor requested that all "who haue bin faithfull" would be gratified "in any thing that shall be reasonably desired." It was likely that Richard Collett was one of the men Lord Baltimore was referring to, or at the very least, Collett's service to the Proprietary party made him eligible for patronage under a general directive. Collett's return to Maryland, then, can be interpreted as compensation for remaining loyal to Baltimore and his government.²⁸

Murder

The years following the civil war were just as tumultuous for Richard Collett. After returning to the colony and its courts as an attorney, he benefited politically as a result of his loyalty to the Proprietary party. In addition to the letters of attorney he filed on behalf of small landholders between 1656 and 1663, in June 1661, Collett was appointed customs commissioner of Calvert County, a post he shared with Thomas Manning. He was also reappointed to his former position of high sheriff of Calvert County in 1663.²⁹

Collett's good fortune did not end there. After his return from forced exile, Elizabeth joined him. Once she decided to immigrate to the Chesapeake, Elizabeth joined a colony that had a number of women willing to make their voices heard, despite a long tradition of hegemonic masculinity that was so much a part of the early modern English world. Given that Richard had close ties to the Proprietary party, William Stone in particular, it is reasonable to speculate that Elizabeth became associated with Verlinda Stone, the former governor's politically astute wife.

Verlinda Stone was one of many women in seventeenth-century Maryland who operated with tremendous skill in the public sphere. During the tumultuous civil war, Verlinda emerged as an important political actor. While her husband languished as a prisoner of war for more than a month with a severe shoulder wound sustained in the disastrous Battle of the Severn, Verlinda shrewdly operated on both sides. On more than one occasion, she crossed into the Puritan stronghold to not only care for her gravely injured husband but to obtain vital intelligence that she relayed to Lord Baltimore, who in turn used it in peace talks with Cromwell. Indeed, according to historian Debra Meyers, Verlinda was an essential go-between, eventually helping the Lord Proprietor regain control of the colony in 1657 by supplying him with intelligence she gathered from the front lines during the civil war.³⁰

The two years following his reappointment as high sheriff of Calvert County saw Collett settling old scores for his friends and making new enemies. Between 1663 and 1665, Collett was caught in the middle of a lengthy dispute between some landowners and one of his negligent clients, Francis Riggs. Riggs apparently died in debt to several men—he owed Jerome White 1,450 pounds of tobacco, Jonathan Brown 5,647 pounds, and Andrew Skinner 2,000 pounds—and Collett was named executor of the estate. At the heart of the matter was Collett's outright refusal to pay Riggs's debt, much to the ire of White, Browne, and Skinner, who repeatedly petitioned the provincial court demanding Collett cough up the payments. After two years of near-constant bickering, Collett finally relented in October 1665 as the court ordered him to pay Skinner upwards of 5,000 pounds of tobacco.³¹

Collett also had a dangerous encounter in the spring of 1667 that reveals just how fragmented the colony's social structure still was and suggests a degree of heightened class antagonism, schisms that would erupt in the 1670s and create significant political fissures in the Chesapeake. According to provincial court records, Collett was serving a routine writ of attachment against Thomas and Phillis Howe, poor landholders who had arrived in the colony in 1653 as indentured servants. Thomas Bayley, a fellow landholder, had accused the Howes of stealing from him, and Collett was attempting to retrieve the property. After Collett confronted the pair, records indicate that they "did strike the said High Sherriffe" as he attempted a "returne of the said writt of Attachment." The attack seems to have been entirely unprovoked, not to mention unexpected, because evidence does not indicate that Collett abused his authority in this or any other case. The provincial court subsequently convicted

the Howes of assaulting Collett and sentenced them to "40 stripes on the bare back." While Thomas was forced to endure the punishment of repeated lashes in addition to paying Collett five hundred and forty pounds of tobacco, Phillis Howe's sentence was commuted "Upon the intercession of some persons" who informed the court that she was pregnant. Phillis Howe did not escape punishment entirely. Rather than being whipped alongside her husband, she was "tyed on the Contrary side of the said tree during the time her husband" received his "40 stripes."³²

After he had recovered from the assault, Collett resumed policing everyday life in Calvert County. His first order of business was to locate and return an indentured servant suspected of fleeing Thomas Brooke. "That Richard Collett doe forthwith take the said James Gul-Lum into safe Custody," the order stated, "to remaine until he shall satisfye his debts for which he lives undr Execuson." Less than a year later, Collett, now sixty-six years old, was once again the victim of assault, this time at the hands of his fellow Calvert County customs commissioner, Thomas Manning. Collett's suit against Manning, filed in February 1668, reveals few details about the incident or any sort of disagreement that led Manning to beat Collett. Prior to it, nothing seemed amiss. Collett, according to court records, was "officiating his office" when he was "struckt and beaten" by Manning, who was detained and "taken into the sheriffs Custody." When Manning appeared before the court to hear the charges against him, Collett was still reeling and thus unable to attend the hearing. Manning, so the story goes, appeared "accordingly" but the court had been "credibly inform'd that the said Richard Collett is uery sick and weak and not able to appeare [before] this Court to put in his Complaint against the said Mannyng." The wounds sustained were evidently too much for the aging Collett to bear, and he died sometime between February and June 1668.³³

Though Manning was arrested for striking Richard Collett, he was never formally prosecuted or even held accountable for the murder. The only punishment he received occurred during a session of the provincial Court. Meeting on February 14, 1668 at the "howse of Mr Richard Collett" (who could not travel due to the severity of his injuries), Manning received what amounted to a formal slap on the wrist. According to the court's proceedings, the oaths of William Meares and Ralph Wells were taken "agst Capt Thomas Mannyng for breaking the peace and striking the High sheriff of Caluert County." Court records are silent about how the case was resolved.³⁴

Why did Richard Collett's life end so violently? Who was Thomas Manning, and what led him to assault a fellow county commissioner? Did a long-standing political dispute exist between the two, or was Collett simply the victim of an irascible, ill-tempered man? Born in Norwich, the largest city in Norfolk in the East of England, to John and Hester Manning, Thomas was baptized at St. Andrew's Parish in February 1624/5. He eventually followed his older brother, John, to Cambridge, matriculating to Peterhouse at only fifteen years old in 1640, and switching to Corpus Christi College, where he received a B.A. in 1643/4. Manning emigrated to Virginia in the early

1650s and settled on 150 acres in Warwick County. While in Virginia, Manning had a political career that mirrored Richard Collett's in Maryland, serving as an attorney to local landowners and merchants before receiving an appointment as sheriff of Nansemond County in June 1657.³⁵

Manning moved to Maryland from Virginia in 1658 with his wife, two sons, and eight servants and was recognized immediately by the proprietary government as a gentleman. After settling in Calvert County, Manning set about increasing the size of his estate. In April 1661, he acquired six hundred acres that he named "Thepbush Manning," and two years later, in February 1663, he appeared in the records of the provincial court to secure the transfer "of a Certain Tract of Land Lying uppon the Cliffts in Caluert County." In September 1663, Manning obtained three hundred additional acres, which he called "The Goare," a patent that made him neighbors with Richard Bennett, the Parliamentary commissioner and one of the conspirators in the Maryland civil war. By 1664, Manning had added an additional 1,700 acres to his Calvert County holdings and was, by any estimation, a wealthy man.³⁶

Manning arrived in Maryland after the re-establishment of proprietary authority and, realizing that a political vacuum existed, quickly sought out political patronage. Indeed, prior to murdering Richard Collett, Manning had what could be described as a distinguished legal and political career. He was commissioned a captain of the colonial militia in 1660 and served as a steward for the St. Clements Manor court in 1661. Between 1660 and 1663, he served as Maryland's attorney general, and it was during this time, first in 1661, that he became a delegate for Calvert County, a position he held, off and on, until the sitting of the 1669 proprietary Assembly. Between 1661 and 1667, Manning served as a justice in Calvert County. In 1665, he received an appointment as a sheriff in Calvert County, either serving alongside or working directly under Richard Collett. It is possible, though not verifiable, that the two men had a long-standing rivalry for political patronage, or even land, as they seemed to jostle between various middling positions in the Calvert County government.³⁷

Evidence does suggest that Manning's assault on Collett may have been politically motivated. Collett was not only a strong supporter of Lord Baltimore, Governor Stone, and the Proprietary party in Maryland, but he also opposed the Parliamentarians, first during the English Civil War while in residence at Little Gidding and then in the immediate aftermath of the hostile takeover of the colony by Bennett and Claiborne. Thomas Manning, on the other hand, seems to have been aligned with the Parliamentarians. In April 1654, while still residing in Virginia, Manning was an attorney of record in a case involving the sloop *Golden Lion*, a ship bound for Amsterdam carrying thousands of pounds of tobacco that was seized in February 1651/2 by three English ships loyal to the crown. Several Virginia planters, including many who professed to be "well affected to the Parliament" and had expressed "dislike of the enemies standing against them," brought a suit to the Admiralty Court seeking

compensation for their seized tobacco that had been supported by none other than Richard Bennett and William Claiborne. Although it is certainly possible that Manning disinterestedly represented the aggrieved merchants in this case and was thus able to keep politics separate from his duties as an attorney, that was highly unlikely, especially in the political tinder box that was the mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake. It is reasonable to argue that Thomas Manning had at least been nominally supportive of the Puritan Parliamentarians while residing in Virginia, and that those political sympathies migrated with him to Calvert County in 1658.³⁸

Court records indicate that Richard Collett was, at the very least, the victim of a violent man allowed to roam the countryside because of his political connections. There is no evidence that prior to Collett's murder Manning was involved in any altercations, but an incident less than two years after Collett's death provides a glimpse into his sadistic tendencies. According to a somber statement presented to the Maryland Chancery Court in August 1669 by William Dorrington, a Quaker merchant and substantial land-owner who served as a justice of the peace in Calvert County, Manning raped Dorrington's twelve-year-old daughter Sarah in June 1669. The attack occurred less than a month after Manning had completed his term as the Speaker of the Lower House. Dorrington spoke to the court on behalf of his daughter, who was still alive at the time of the hearing, although she eventually died from wounds sustained during the assault:

Caecilius absolute Lord and Prop.rY of the Provinces of maryland & avaolon Lord Baron of Baltemore &c To the Sheriff of Calvert Co.tY Greeting William Dorrington of Calvert County af.d Gent has Supplicated us on the behalf of Sarah Dorrington his Daughter & an Infant under age to wit of the age of 12 years ag.t Thomas' Manning of the Same County Gent that Whereas the Said Thomas Manning did about the 20th day of July last past by force of Armes assault would beat & Evil Intreat the Said Sarah Dorrington & doth still threaten to assault would beat & Evil Intreat her So that the Said W.m Dorrington is afraid for her life or Loss of Limbs We willing to provid for the Security of the Said Sarah.³⁹

What is even more perplexing about this case is that Manning and Dorrington, similar to the incident between Manning and Collett, were acquaintances, at least superficially. Like Collett, Dorrington was a fellow political appointee in Calvert County at the time Manning attacked his daughter. But the relationship between Manning and Dorrington moved beyond the Calvert County courthouse, as the two seemed to have entered into a business venture. In 1664, Manning and Dorrington indicated to the provincial court that they intended to travel to New England together, though the proceedings are silent about why they wanted to do so. Sarah Dorrington's case, then, seems to be the second time that Manning got away with murder. Records do

reveal that Manning was charged with assault, but he does not seem to have been prosecuted, perhaps because he had died by 1670, thus depriving both families of their day in court. Sarah Dorrington, like Richard Collett before her, died without any justice being done in a colony that was straining to keep itself together. At the very least, Manning's political career ended after his assault on Sarah Dorrington, and he languished in Calvert County at his plantation "uppon the Cliffts" until his death in March 1670.⁴⁰

Thomas Manning's murder of Richard Collett and the rape and murder of Sarah Dorrington speak to the inability or utter reluctance of the colony's courts to punish men of power and means when they committed vicious crimes. Manning got away with murder twice without so much as being reprimanded and died a wealthy and powerful man. After he passed away in March 1670, his estate was probated in Calvert County and was valued at 54,007 pounds of tobacco, which included five servants on a plantation of nearly three thousand acres. Manning was not the only powerful man in the colony to get away with murder, though. As historian Lois Green Carr tells us, in September 1656, three months after Collett's sudden reappearance in Maryland following his forced exile, a wealthy merchant and justice in St. Mary's County, Simon Oversee, murdered a slave named Antonio by whipping him repeatedly with pear tree branches, pouring hot lard upon his back, and finally hanging him from a tall ladder with leather wrapped around his wrists. Oversee, like Manning after him, was not punished for his crime by Maryland's provincial court, which may have been reluctant to convict in a case that had racial overtones. Men such as Manning and Oversee, then, remained public servants and even prospered despite their crimes, perhaps due to the dearth of qualified men to fill positions in the county and colonial governments.⁴¹

Elizabeth Collett's Maryland

After Richard's death, Elizabeth Collett did her best to move forward. Since the couple did not appear to have had children, Elizabeth was named the executrix and sole legatee of Richard's two-hundred-acre estate, meager though it may have been. Despite the lack of an heir, recent scholarship suggests that broad social, political, and indeed religious expectations would have led Richard to name Elizabeth his executrix, even if they had children. Due to their identity as High Anglicans, once in Maryland the Colletts would have been part of a broad confessional coalition that Meyers has termed "Free Will Christians"—Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics—as opposed to what she calls "Predestinarians," represented by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Puritans. In her research, Meyers traces specific tendencies in the two groups' inheritance practices: Predestinarian testators, by and large, bequeathed real and actual property to their sons while the Free Will Christians, which would have included the Colletts, often named wives as the sole recipient. In many cases, then, women testators possessed a great deal of power in public and

in the household by forming sprawling kinship networks that connected families across multiple marriages.⁴²

What happened to Elizabeth following Richard's death? Although she likely sought to move on with her life by re-marrying, the fate of her eventual suitor, a merchant and lawyer by the name of Christopher Rousby, eerily resembled what had happened to Richard. Rousby arrived in Maryland in 1666 with his brother and nine indentured servants. By 1668, Rousby had established himself as a merchant in Calvert County, and by 1669 he apparently had impressed enough of the right people to receive an appointment as the county sheriff, succeeding Richard Collett. It was in 1669, the year he took over Richard Collett's patrol on the Maryland frontier, that he married Elizabeth. It was this local appointment that catapulted Christopher Rousby's political career which, like Richard Collett's before him, would end in tragedy.

After marrying Rousby, Elizabeth made a sudden, vocal appearance in the colony's court records. In December 1669, nearly a year after Richard's death, Elizabeth was part of a group of women who intervened in court on behalf of a woman accused of infanticide. The proceedings of the provincial court maintained that Joane Colledge, a "Spinster being great with Child," used "force and armes and of her malice before thought" against the baby girl, which had been born out of wedlock. To that end, the court ruled that Colledge "did kill . . . the said female Child" thus disrupting "the peace of his said Lordshipp his rule and dignity." Colledge pleaded not guilty and "Putt herself upon the Country." Upon hearing the guilty verdict, she broke down in tears and "humbly begg'd the mercy of the Court," a desperate plea that failed to sway the court, which delivered a death sentence. "That the said Joane Colledge should return from the place from whence she came," it read in part, "and from thence to the place of execution and there to hang by the neck till she be dead." At this point, Joane Colledge had little hope for mercy. The next day, though, Elizabeth Collett Rousby, Mary Keene, Ellinor Smith, Ann Dorrington, Mary Larkin, Grace Parker, Mary Williams, "and sundry other persons" stormed the court in what must have been a dramatic scene. Once inside the building, the women "exhibited to the Court on the behalf of the said Joane Colledge a Petition for the suspending of the execution" until her case could be presented to Lord Baltimore for a potential pardon. Their petition evidently worked. "The Court Ordered that the Prisoner Joane Colledge should be reprieved till the eighteenth day of October next." Joane's ultimate fate remains a mystery. Although she did receive a year's reprieve, she does not appear in subsequent court documents and her name is not listed among the men and women pardoned by Governor Charles Calvert.⁴³

While Elizabeth used her voice in the public sphere to help others, Christopher was using his to run afoul of men in power. In 1676, he received an imperial appointment as a tax collector on the Patuxent River, a position he held until 1684. As a collector of taxes on tobacco, Rousby answered to London customs commissioners—not the Assembly in Maryland or Lord Baltimore. Rousby did have a foot in the

proprietary door at the same time, though, representing Calvert County in the Lower House of the Assembly between 1676 and 1678. It was during his time as a member of the colonial assembly that he openly criticized the Proprietary party, apparently calling Lord Baltimore a traitor to his face. Lord Baltimore attempted, unsuccessfully, to remove Rousby from his position as customs collector and referred to him as an "insolvent and knavish collector" and the "most lewd debauched swearing and most profane fellow in the whole government and indeed not fit to be admitted into civil society." Fearing the loss of his position, not to mention a stain upon his reputation, Rousby returned to London in order to defend himself. After his triumphal return to Maryland, his name effectively cleared and his job as tax collector still on the books, Rousby found himself in yet another scrape. This time he would not fare as well. In October 1684, while aboard the royal patrol boat *Quaker*, Rousby quarreled with a recently arrived passenger, George Talbot, who just so happened to be the proprietor's cousin. After several vocal disagreements no doubt made worse by a night of heavy drinking, Talbot fatally stabbed Rousby in the chest.⁴⁴

It is not clear whether Elizabeth Collett Rousby was still alive to endure yet another tragedy. She was not named in Rousby's will, leading to speculation that she had indeed passed away. Had Elizabeth been alive, though, she would have experienced yet another injustice. Like Richard Collett's death at the hands of Thomas Manning, Christopher Rousby's killer was not punished in any sort of meaningful way. George Talbot was eventually imprisoned in Virginia to await trial, but he would not be there long. Much to the surprise of officials in Virginia and Maryland, Talbot's wife hatched an audacious plot and broke him out of jail. The Talbots absconded, leading to a manhunt that lasted for months. Eventually, Talbot turned himself over to Maryland authorities and was found guilty of murdering Christopher Rousby. He was sentenced to death, yet his story does not end in an execution. In an ironic twist, the man who murdered Elizabeth's second husband received the very same punishment Richard had received years earlier for publicly criticizing the hostile Puritan takeover of Maryland. Two and a half years after the trial, George Talbot was pardoned, and in exchange for his life he was banished. He was so grateful for this intervention that he "humbly prayed" to the court "that the sd pardon might be read" aloud, in Latin, and recorded.⁴⁵

The story of seventeenth-century Maryland was, in many ways, Richard Collett's story. Reared in a community founded by failed colonizers, Richard Collett was a casualty of the fissures that threatened to tear apart the nascent British Empire in the mid-seventeenth century. Collett sailed for the Chesapeake for two reasons. First, he likely hoped to flee the violence of the English Civil Wars that he had witnessed firsthand for much of his adult life, and second, court records reveal him to be an aspirant colonizer, perhaps looking to succeed where his uncles Nicholas and John Ferrar had failed. And although he may have been an altogether unimpressive contemporary and historical figure, Collett's life was touched by a number of monumental

political events in England and the New World. As an Anglican-Royalist deeply affected by the transatlantic civil war that devastated both colony and metropole, Collett lived through and indeed participated in these epoch-making events. What is remarkable about Richard Collett's life, fleeting though it may have been, is that he relocated to a colony remembered for religious toleration and extreme demographic and political instability, and once there, found himself buffeted about by religious and political forces. Yet, rather than dying from malaria or on the battlefield on behalf of a contemporary political *cause célèbre*, like many of his fellow Marylanders did, he was instead murdered by a landholder and ostensible rival, though it is not clear why. Whether it was his forced exiles due to his contested confessional politics or his death at the hands of a violent landholder, Richard Collett's life on the run represents just how unstable the British Atlantic was in the mid-seventeenth century. And despite his efforts to bring stability to his jurisdiction in Calvert County, clashes between powerful political forces would continue to play out and remain unresolved for many years after his lonesome death.

NOTES

1. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137-138, Judicial and Testametary Business of the Provincial Court, 1649/50-1657, William Hand Browne, et al., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 10:414. [Hereinafter *Arch. Md.*]. Lois Green Carr argues that despite continuing unrest in seventeenth-century Maryland, local institutions such as informal community networks and local government provided stabilizing forces. See Lois Green Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 44-70. Much of the work on Maryland politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries takes a top-down approach. See Lois Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Susan Rosenfeld Falb, *Advice and Assent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635-1689* (New York: Garland, 1986); Falb, "Proxy Voting in Early Maryland Assemblies," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (1978): 217-25; Ronald Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500-1782* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632-1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Jordan, "'God's Candle within Government': Quakers and Politics in Early Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 39 (1982): 628-54; Jordan, "John Coode, Perennial Rebel," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1975): 1-28; Russell R. Menard, "Maryland's Time of Troubles: Sources of Political Disorder in Early St. Mary's," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 124-40.
2. Antoinette Patricia Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke: Politics and Political Culture in Maryland, 1630-1690 (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2008), 6, 11.
3. Kate E. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited: The Ferrar Family of Little Gidding, c. 1625-1637," Ph.D. diss., University of Western Australia, 2007; J. F. M. Carter and Thomas Thellusson Carter, *Nicholas Ferrar; His Household and His Friends* (London; New York: Longmans, Green, 1980), Nicholas Ferrar and Bernard Blackstone, *The Ferrar Papers; Containing a Life of Nicholas Ferrar; the Winding-Sheet, an Ascetic Dialogue; a Collection of Short Moral*

- Histories; a Selection of Family Letters* (Cambridge, U.K.: University Press, 1938), "Heroines of Virginia," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 15 (1906): 40, A. L. Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1980). I was able to establish Richard Collett's early kinship network through two means: one, the genealogical tree found in the *Ferrar Papers*, which lists Richard as one of John and Susanna's sons; second, by consulting the Collett genealogical files found at rootsweb.com. For recent work on the Little Gidding community, see Carmen Ortiz Henley, "The Women of Little Gidding: The First Anglican Nuns," Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 2012; Joyce Ransome, *The Web of Friendship: Nicholas Ferrar and Little Gidding* (Cambridge, U.K.: James Clarke & Co., 2011); Ransome, "George Herbert, Nicholas Ferrar, and the 'Pious Works' of Little Gidding," *George Herbert Journal*, 31 (2009): 1–19; Ransome, "Voluntary Anglicanism: The Contribution of Little Gidding," *Seventeenth Century*, 24 (2009): 52–73.
4. For girls' boarding schools in early modern England, see Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion, and Education in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 131–41; Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 119–20; Ferrar, John, Virginia Farrer, John Goddard, and John Overton, *A Mapp of Virginia Discovered to Ye Hills, and in It's Latt. from 35 Deg. & 1/2 Neer Florida to 41 Deg. Bounds of New England* (London, 1667); quote by Fuller in P. J. M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding: History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 27.
 5. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 220; Muir & White, p. 79; Margaret Aston, "Moving Pictures: Foxe's Martyrs and Little Gidding," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Elanor F. Shevlin, eds. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 83, 90; D. R. Ransome, "John Ferrar of Little Gidding," *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 3 (2000): 22.
 6. A. L. Maycock, *Chronicles of Little Gidding* (London: SPCK, 1954), 64, 65; John Ferrar to his son, n.d., *The Ferrar Papers*, 302; Maycock, *Chronicles of Little Gidding*, 65.
 7. Maycock, *Chronicles of Little Gidding*, 58, 68; Kate E. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 220. The severity of the damage, or even if the property was ransacked at all, has recently come under question. Riley points out in a footnote that "recently, D. R. Ransome has disputed the long-held assumption that Little Gidding church was ransacked by Cromwellian soldiers in 1646," pointing readers to "the website of Little Gidding Church for details." Ransome traces the legend of the Puritan sacking to "Peckard's *Life of Nicholas Ferrar* published in 1790 . . . on the basis of his scanning previous manuscripts and some of the thousands of letters in the Ferrar papers which he had inherited from his father-in-law, Edward Ferrar II." Ransome goes on to say that a "closer examination of the Ferrar papers, with the absence of any reference to this event," has led him to conclude that "it did not happen." See "Alleged ransacking—an update," <http://www.littlegiddingchurch.org.uk/lgchtmlfiles/detailfiles/lgcpopuptextpage1.html> (accessed July 28, 2014); D. R. Ransome, "John Ferrar of Little Gidding," 16–29.
 8. Riley, "The Good Old Way Revisited," 96–97; Anon, *The Arminian Nunnery* (London, 1641).
 9. Michael Lloyd Ferrar, quoted in H. P. K. Skipton, *Life and Times of Nicholas Ferrar* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1907), 184, 185. See also Lynette R. Muir and John A. White, eds., *Materials for the Life of Nicholas Ferrar: A Reconstruction of John Ferrar's Account of His Brother's Life Based on All the Surviving Copies* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1996), 60; Ransome, "John Ferrar of Little Gidding," 22.
 10. Gust Skordas, John M. Brewer, and Arthur Trader, eds., *The Early Settlers of Maryland; an Index to Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633–1680, in the*

Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1968), 99. For more on Richard Collett's arrival and the death of his father, see William Ryley and others, *The Visitation of Middlesex, Began in the Year 1663* (London: Privately printed for Joseph Foster, 1887), 89; Recorded in Patents, Liber 4, folio 549, in Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, 99; There are two Elizabeth Colletts listed in Skordas's compiled list of early Maryland immigrants. See Liber 5, folio 607 or Liber 6, folio 293, in Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, 99; Russell R. Menard, "Population, Economy, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 72. For a table that lists the disparity between men and women in detail, see Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975), 194.

11. Lois G. Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 34 (1977): 546, 547. See also Menard, "Population, Economy, and Society in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," 71-72, E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (New York: McGraw, 1969), and Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974).

12. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Maryland," 220-21.

13. John E. Douglass, "Between Pettifoggers and Professionals: Pleadors and Practitioners and the Beginnings of the Legal Profession in Colonial Maryland, 1634-1731," *American Journal of Legal History*, 39 (1995): esp. 360-62; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B MSA S11-2, folio 564, *Arch. Md.*, 10:356; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B MSA S11-2, folio 564-566, *Arch. Md.* 10:356-58; Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 1069-01, 12, Special Collections, Maryland State Archives [MSA]; Men's Career Files, MSA SC 4082, folio 01, 28, 29, Special Collections, MSA. For debt in colonial Maryland, see Tommy R. Thompson, "Debtors, Creditors, and the General Assembly in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 59-77.

14. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber B, 1637-1657, MSA S1071-2, folio 615, *Arch. Md.*, 3:308; Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 48; Stephen Bordley to Hercules Coutts, December 11, 1756, Letterbook of Stephen Bordley, 1756-59, MS 81, 22-24, Maryland Historical Society, quoted in Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 70; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Liber R, MSA S1071-7/8, folio 289, *Arch. Md.*, 17:62. For more examples of sheriffs abusing their power, see Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 51.15. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669 MSA S1071-5, folio 77, *Arch. Md.*, 3:394; Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669 MSA S1071-5, folio 169, *Arch. Md.*, 3:473; Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber BB, 1663-1669, folio 23, *Arch. Md.*, 49:23.

16. Women's Career Files, MSA SC 4040, folio 1327-1, Special Collections, MSA; Women's Career Files, MSA SC 4040, folio 1327-3, Special Collections, MSA. For discussion of material culture and economic growth in early Maryland, see Lorena S. Walsh and Paul G. E. Clemens, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643-1777," *Journal of Economic History*, 43 (1983): 109-17; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Wealth and Welfare in Early Maryland: Evidence from St. Mary's County," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 56 (1999): 95-120; Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena Seebach Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991); Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore from Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca: Cornell University

Press, 1980); Alan Kulikoff, "The Economic Growth of the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Colonie," *Journal of Economic History*, 29 (1979): 282–88.

17. See Matthew Page Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins; D. Appleton-Century, 1933), Susan Rosenfeld Falb, "Advice and Ascent: The Development of the Maryland Assembly, 1635–1689" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1976), Michael James Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1724" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1983), Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981), Robert D. Mitchell, "American Origins and Regional Institutions: The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73, no. 3 (1983). For a discussion of the Calvert's struggle to obtain, and then defend, their colonial charter, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chap. 1. For the disparity between the Catholic colonizers and the actual settlement, John D. Krugler, "The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 274. For the desire to attract wealthy young noblemen, see Gary Wheeler Stone, "Manorial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 5.

18. Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 53–56; Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chaps. 1–3. For Stone's commission, see Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber CB, 1637–1657, folio 168–197, MSA S1071-1, *Arch. Md.*, 3:201–11. Stone was born in England in 1603 and emigrated to Virginia prior to his thirtieth birthday. He was forty-five years old when he was appointed as the first Protestant governor of Maryland. He served as a vestryman in Accomoc County in 1635 and was appointed as sheriff of Northampton County in 1646. He was the nephew of the London haberdasher Thomas Stone. See Bernard C. Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 24 (Baltimore, 1906), 102. Steiner estimates that the congregation invited by Stone was around 500 settlers. See Steiner, *Maryland Under the Commonwealth: A Chronicle of the Years 1649–1658*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 29, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1911), 10. For a discussion on the Act Concerning Religion, see Krugler, "The Calvert Vision," 280–81.

19. On the question of Catholic loyalty, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chap. 1 and Maxine N. Lurie, "Theory and Practice: Toleration in the Seventeenth Century: The Proprietary Colonies as a Case Study," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 117. For more on religion in colonial Maryland, see John D. Krugler, "Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholics, and Toleration: Religious Policy in Maryland During the Early Catholic Years, 1634–1649," *Catholic Historical Review*, 65 (1979), Krugler, "'With Promise of Liberty in Religion': The Catholic Lords Baltimore and Toleration in Seventeenth-Century Maryland, 1634–1692," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984); Krugler, "The Calvert Family, Catholicism and Court Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England," *The Historian*, 43 (1981): 378–92; Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Krugler, "The Face of a Protestant and the Heart of a Papist: A Reexamination of Sir George Calvert's Conversion to Roman Catholicism," *Journal of Church and State*, 20 (1978): 507–31; Krugler, "'Our Trusty and Well Beloved Councillor': The Parliamentary Career of Sir George Calvert, 1609–1649," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 470–97; R. J. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 491–511; Matthew Page Andrews, "Separation of Church and State in Maryland," *Catholic Historical Review*, 21 (1935): 164–76; Carl N. Everstine, "Maryland's Toleration Act: An Appraisal," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 79 (1984): 99–116; Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "Church and State in the Maryland Ordinance of 1639," *Church History*, 26 (1957): 325–41; Hanley, *Their Rights and Liberties: The Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland*

(Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1984); David W. Jordan, "The Miracle of this Age: Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1649-1689," *Historian*, 47 (1985): 338-59; Edward F. Terrar, "Was There a Separation of Church and State in Mid-Seventeenth Century England and Colonial Maryland?" *Journal of Church and State*, 35 (1993): 61-82.

20. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber CB, 1637-1657, folio 168, MSA S1071-1, *Arch. Md.*, 3:201; Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*, 102, n1. For discussion of the Puritan migration to Maryland, see Steiner, *Maryland Under the Commonwealth*; Kenneth L. Carroll, "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland, 1658-1661," *Quaker History*, 53 (1964): 67-80; Krugler, "The Calvert Vision"; Carr, "Sources of Political Stability"; Krugler, "With Promise of Liberty in Religion"; Lurie, "Theory and Practice of Religious Toleration in the Seventeenth-Century"; Daniel R. Randall, *A Puritan Colony in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 6 (Baltimore, 1886).

21. Carr, "Sources of Political Stability," 53-56; Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," 54-61.

22. The men executed by order of a Puritan court-martial were William Eltonhead, Captain William Lewis, John Legatt, and Julius Pedro. For an overview of this period, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," 170-84; Charles Francis Stein, *A History of Calvert County, Maryland* (Baltimore, Md.: Published by the Author in Co-operation with the Calvert County Historical Society, 1976); Steiner, "Maryland Under the Commonwealth"; Steiner, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*; Randall, "A Puritan Colony in Maryland"; Carl N. Everstine, "The Establishment of Legislative Power in Maryland," *Maryland Law Review*, 12 (1951); Ethan Allen, *Maryland Toleration: Or, Sketches of the Early History of Maryland, to the Year 1650* (Baltimore, 1855); Carr, "Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland"; Susan Rosenfeld Falb, "Advice and Ascent"; Land, *Colonial Maryland*, esp. 33-56. For more on tension in the 1640s and 1650s, see Alfred P. Dennis, "Lord Baltimore's Struggle with the Jesuits, 1634-1649," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1900*, vol. 1 (Washington, 1901), 107-25.

23. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137-138, Judicial and Testametary Business of the Provincial Court, 1649/50-1657, *Arch. Md.* 10:414; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137, *Arch. Md.*, 10:413; *Ibid*; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 137, *Arch. Md.*, 10:414; *ibid*. For more examples of how the new regime cracked down on dissidents, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," p. 182.

24. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B #3, MSA S11-4, folio 137-138, Judicial and Testametary Business of the Provincial Court, 1649/50-1657, *Arch. Md.*, 10:414.

25. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 189, *Arch. Md.*, 10:449; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 223, *Arch. Md.*, 10:469. For Connery, see Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094-892-07, Special Collections, MSA.

26. Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S11-4, folio 158, *Arch. Md.*, 10:427; Land Office Patent Records, Liber B, no. 3, 1647-1658, MSA S1071-5 folio 158, *Arch. Md.*, 10:426-28.

27. "Lord Baltimore's Treaty with the Virginians," 1657, Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1657-1660, Liber HH, folio 10-12, Maryland Hall of Records 3823.

28. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669, MSA S1071-5, folio 6, *Arch. Md.*, 3:323. For a discussion of Fendall's term in office, see Sutto, "Built Upon Smoke," chap. 8; Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656-1669, MSA S1071-5, folio 4, *Arch. Md.*, 3:326.

29. Fendall served as governor of Maryland from 1656-1660, with Philip Calvert assuming control in 1660 and holding the office until 1682. For a list of governors from 1634 to 1704,

see Edward C. Papenfuse, *Archives of Maryland: Historical List, New Series*, MSA. Governor and Council Proceedings, Liber HH, 1656–1669, MSA S1071-5, folio 108, *Arch. Md.*, 3:424. For instances of Collett sitting as a commissioner of the Calvert County court, see Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber BB, 1664, MSA S552, folio 327, *Arch. Md.*, 49:271; Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber FF, MSA S552, folio 276, 1666, *Arch. Md.*, 57:72. The other men also appointed as commissioners of Calvert County were Thomas Spriggue, Thomas Trueman, Thomas Brookes, George Peake, Francis Anketill, Hugh Stanley, Charles Brooke, John Elzy, Toby Norton, Thomas Letchworth, Benjamin Brassier, and William Turner. For Thomas Manning, see Men's Career File, MSA SC 5094, folio 2763-1, Special Collections, MSA. For a mention of Manning as a delegate, see Stein, *A History of Calvert County*, 42.

30. Debra Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free Will Christian Women in Colonial Maryland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 29, 177–78.

31. For more on the long, drawn-out case involving Collett on behalf of Francis Riggs from 1663 to 1665, see *Arch. Md.*, 49:195, 199, 208, 217–18, 223, 224, 228–29, 236, 249–50, 301, 303, 329–30, 356–58, 425–26, and 478–81.

32. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975); Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 2124-01, 10, Special Collections, MSA; Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 490, 1667, *Arch. Md.*, 57:198, 199.

33. Provincial Court Proceedings, 1667, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 492, 1667, *Arch. Md.*, 57:200; *ibid.*, 1667/8, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 545–546, *Arch. Md.*, 57:244; *ibid.*, Liber JJ, MSA S552, folio 464, *Arch. Md.*, 57:607.

34. Provincial Court Proceedings, 1667/8, Liber FF, MSA S551, folio 540, *Arch. Md.*, 57:250, 251.

35. Parish Register, St. Andrew's, Norwich, PD 165/1(S), Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, Norfolk, U.K.; for Manning's matriculation to Cambridge, see John Venn and John Archibald Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, part 1, v. 3 (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1924), 136; Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, vol. 1 (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1992), 209, 356; for Manning's appointment as sheriff, see H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, 2nd ed. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1979), 505. For a recent genealogical summary of Manning's life in the Chesapeake, see James B. White, "Thomas Manning of Calvert County, Maryland," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, 46 (2005): 461–78.

36. For Thepbush Manning, see Patent Record AB and H, 1661, Calvert County Circuit Court Land Survey, MSA S1583, Maryland State Archives, 261; for the tract of land he called "upon the Cliffs," Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1663–1666, Land Records, Liber BB, MSA S552-2/3, *Arch. Md.*, 49:126–127; for "The Goare," see Provincial Court Judgment Record, 1679–1684, Liber WC, MSA S551-8, *Arch. Md.*, 70:304, 306; for the additional land patents, see *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, eds. Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 2:571.

37. Manning sat as a burgess in the Lower House in 1661, 1662, and 1669. See *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:571; Recorded in Patents, Liber Q, folio 317, in Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland*, 303; Men's Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 2765-01, Special Collections, MSA.

38. Peter Wilson Coldham, *English Adventurers and Emigrants, 1609–1660* (Baltimore: Ge-

nealogical Publishing Company, 1984), 133, 134–38; Beverly Fleet, *Virginia Colonial Abstracts* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1988), 3:467; White, “Thomas Manning of Calvert County, Maryland,” 465–66.

39. Proceedings of the Court of Chancery, 1669, Liber CD, MSA S517, folio 530, *Arch. Md.*, 51:332. See also Men’s Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 1173-01, Special Collections, MSA. Manning is listed as the Speaker of the Lower House in *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:25.

40. Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber BB, 1664–65, folio 504, *Arch. Md.*, 49:414. For additional biographical details on Manning, see *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:571–72. For Manning’s will, see Men’s Career Files, MSA SC 5094, folio 2763-01, Special Collections, MSA; White, “Thomas Manning of Calvert County, Maryland,” 467–68.

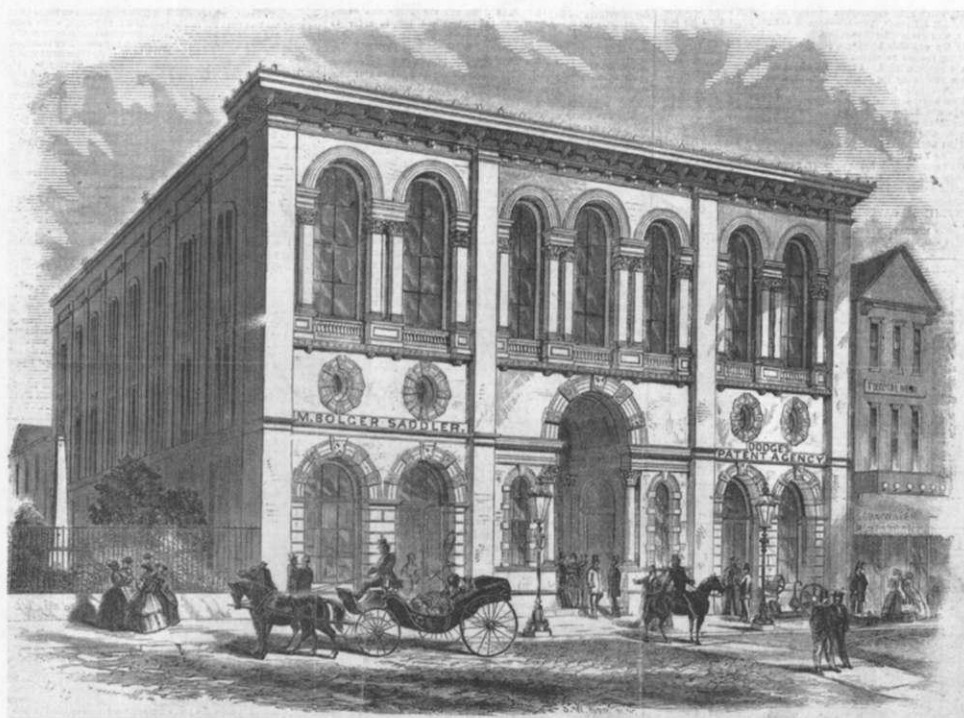
41. Provincial Court Proceedings, 1658–1662, *Arch. Md.*, 41:205; Lois Green Carr, “Sources of Political Stability and Upheaval in Seventeenth-Century Maryland,” 50; *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 2:571–72.

42. Women’s Career Files, MSA SC 4040, MSA; Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives*, 4–5, 128–55. For women as centers in a kinship network that formed as a result of multiple marriages, see Carr and Walsh, “The Planter’s Wife,” 542–71. Scholars have located other women that possessed significant power in the public sphere in colonial North America. See, for example, Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 262–67; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 35–38; Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 10–11, 15, 93–95; Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 10–14, 359–99.

43. Proceedings of the Provincial Court, 1666–1670, Liber JJ, MSA S551-3/4, *Arch. Md.*, 57:598–99; see also J. Hall Pleasants, ed., “Introduction,” to vol. 57, pp. xxiv, xxvi; Women’s Career Files, MSA SC 4040-1327, MSA. See also Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, 238–39 and Norton, “Gender, Crime, and Community in Seventeenth-Century Maryland,” in *The Transformation of Early American History: Society, Authority, and Ideology*, James A. Henretta, Michael G. Kammen, Stanley Nider Katz, eds. (New York: Knopf, 1991), 147.

44. Antoinette Sutto, “‘You Dog . . . Give Me Your Hand’: Lord Baltimore and the Death of Christopher Rousby,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 102 (2007): 240–42, 244–45, 250; *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature*, 1:27, 2:704-5.

45. Meyer, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives*, 177; Appendix to Council Proceedings, 1671–1686, MSA S1071-7/8, *Arch. Md.*, 17:480–83.



The South Carolina Institute, site of the 1860 Democratic National Convention. (Library of Congress.)

Maryland's Presidential Election of 1860

CHARLES W. MITCHELL

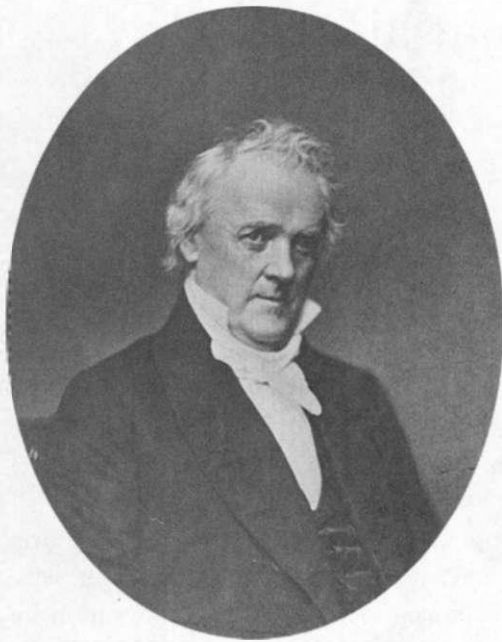
On Wednesday, April 18, 1860, the steamer *S. R. Spaulding* left Baltimore for Charleston, South Carolina. Those on board enjoyed music from Gilmore's band and loud cheering from those gathered to see them off. "For the alimentary comfort of those on board, she is supplied with 4,500 pounds of fresh meat and poultry, and has besides 23 tons of ice," noted the *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*.¹

The national Democratic Party was gathering in Charleston to write its platform and nominate its candidate for president, and among the *Spaulding's* passengers were Maryland delegates en route to what would be a momentous political convention, for in this steamy, southern city the issues would be defined and the battle lines drawn over one of the most momentous elections in American history.

Washington, D.C., was engulfed in turmoil. Incumbent Democrat James Buchanan, battered by sectional tensions and charges of corruption in his administration, could hardly wait to leave Washington for the bucolic peace of his Pennsylvania farm. The Congress was divided into camps of northern and southern men who were literally at each other's throats. On April 5, Congressmen John F. Potter of Wisconsin and Roger Pryor of Virginia came close to blows on the floor of the House. Four days later they agreed to a duel—Bowie knives being the weapon of choice—but when cooler heads prevailed, a duel was averted.

Delegate-laden trains and steamers arriving in Charleston were full of talk about Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the most powerful figure in the Democratic Party. In Charleston, wrote one historian, "the southern delegates were at home; the city was theirs, doors were open, tables were spread, many were spared the discomforts of hotel fare in the lavender-drenched guest rooms of these wide-porched mansions. The most charming spot . . . is the Battery. . . . In the pleasant evenings the people of leisure congregate here; hundreds of carriages and buggies, full of ladies and gentlemen, whirl along the drives."² The night before the convention opened, Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial* wrote, "there has been a great deal more drunkenness here today than heretofore. Most of the violent spreeing is done by roughs from the Northern Atlantic cities who are at last making their appear-

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James Buchanan (1791–1868), fifteenth president of the United States. (Library of Congress.)

ance. There have been a number of specimens of drunken rowdyism and imbecility about the hotels. And I hear, as I write, a company of brawlers in the street making night hideous.”³

As the convention opened on April 23, the steamy air at close to one hundred degrees made all, particularly the overdressed northerners, uncomfortable, but the heat was but one element of discomfiture. The disintegration of the Whig Party during the previous decade, largely over slavery, was a fate not lost on the 303 Democratic delegates from thirty-two states who filed into Institute Hall on Meeting Street for the opening ceremonies. These men were gathering to address problems that politics could no longer solve. Many realized that leaving Charleston without uniting behind a nominee would likely mean a Republican president, secession, and possibly war.

Many, however, were optimistic that they would unite behind Stephen Douglas, the “Little Giant” and former judge who stood barely five feet tall, United States Senator from Illinois, sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its doctrine of popular sovereignty.⁴ He commanded support from at least half of the delegates at the start of the convention, mostly from the northwest and New England, but he had to muster two-thirds of the delegate votes to secure the nomination—and he had to do so in the face of imposing forces converging to stop him. These included President Buchanan and the U.S. Senator from Mississippi and former secretary of war Jefferson Davis. Douglas’s highest hurdle, though, would be a former Alabama congressman, William Yancey, and other southern nationalists, who had pledged to fight his nomination to the bitter end.

Slavery was, of course, the divisive issue. Leading Republicans such as Senator

William Henry Seward from New York and lawyer and former Illinois congressman Abraham Lincoln were pledging not to interfere with slavery *where it existed*, but if elected they would not allow its spread into the territories likely to become new states. Few northern delegates had had firsthand contact with the peculiar institution, and for many their visit to Charleston afforded their first look at real slaves and real masters. Near the meeting site loomed the "Workhouse," a jail where obstreperous slaves were beaten, the double walls filled with sand to muffle their screams.

Douglas had cast himself as spokesman for the new Northwest, those territories of the American Midwest that in the middle of the nineteenth century lay on the frontier seeking entry into the Union. His doctrine of popular sovereignty—in which the territories themselves could choose to be free or slave—especially angered the South. The Little Giant's straddle over slavery in the territories had by this time become a painful stretch. Douglas's troubles had begun six years earlier in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and they worsened in Charleston when his managers agreed to finalize the party's platform before a nominee was chosen—a tactical misstep given the platform's failure to include a ban on federal interference with slavery in the territories. Douglas's relationships with the southerners were poor; he was detested by extremists and distrusted by moderates. In the month preceding the convention, several state Democratic parties had instructed their delegates to walk out if the party's platform lacked federal protection for slavery in the territories. An ugly tone was set the first day, when a Pennsylvania delegate attempting to speak was driven from the floor by cries of "God damn you, sit down!" and "What the hell do you want to talk for?"⁵

But frivolity was in the air as well. By Wednesday, the *Baltimore Sun* reported, "the gallery was crowded with ladies, and it being filled, several hundred who were crowding outside, unable to enter the gallery, were admitted to the floor of the convention, occasioning much good feeling." Delegate Charles Walker of New York informed the ladies that his fellow New York delegate, John Cochrane, was a bachelor, following which the latter "acknowledged his desperate condition and expressed his willingness to enter into the marriage relation. Walker said it was apparent that the reason why Cochrane had not married was because he could not. . . . the Chair tolerated this nonsense for a time, but at last interposed and summarily shut down upon it." The convention floor was packed, for "those who have tickets send them out after they get in, and others come in," complained one delegate. John S. Robinson, the chairman of the Vermont delegation, it was announced, died of apoplexy. And the credentials committee, adjudicating contested seats in four states, ruled in favor of the sitting delegates, allowing F. M. Landham and Robert J. Brent, of Maryland's Fourth Congressional district, to claim their seats.⁶

By Friday, the fifth day of the convention, wind and rain had dispelled the heat, and Charleston's bars, gamblers, and pickpockets were doing a bang-up business. The platform committee presented three reports: the majority report called for federal



A fierce opponent of Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, Alabama's William Lowndes Yancey (1814–1863), became a strong proponent of secession. (Library of Congress.)

protection of slavery on the high seas and in the states and territories, the acquisition of Cuba, and construction of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific. On Sunday, the Ohio and Kentucky delegations discovered that their private whiskey stocks, to which they attributed their good health, had run dry.⁷

On Monday, April 30, with Douglas's chances ever more perilous, Baltimoreans read of the Sunday goings-on in Charleston: "There have been three fights within 24 hours. Two of the Ohio delegates threw plates at each other at the Mills House, and one drew a pistol while the other clinched. Col. Craig, of Missouri, and a newspaper reporter also had a rough and tumble fight at the Mills House, and Captain Levy and Mr. White have also had a fight in a bar-room." One Pennsylvania delegate attacked another over his refusal to sign a document instructing the Pennsylvania delegates how to vote. Chaos on the convention floor rivaled that in the streets and taverns. As various points of order were being discussed, amid deafening noise,

Mr. [William S.] Gittings of Md. attempted to address the chair but was called to order . . . (he) renewed the motion to lay on the table . . . a voice cried out, "Mr. President, it is a mistake—I didn't second that man's motion down there." Mr. Gittings rose to demand an explanation. He would like to know who it was who spoke so disrespectfully of him. . . . Mr. (Tom) Hooper arose. He did not say anything disrespectful to the gentleman from Maryland. . . . Mr. Gittings replied that if no insult was intended, "the gentleman will call at my room and take a drink."⁸



"Meeting of Southern Seceders," April 1860. A week into the Democratic convention, fifty southern Democrats walked out amid cheers from the galleries and reconvened at St. Andrew's Hall in Charleston. (Library of Congress.)

By April 30 most of the northern spectators in the gallery had left, their rooming contracts and patience having ended. Their departure made hotel hallways navigable, barrooms accessible and—most important—filled the Institute Hall gallery with Charlestonians, whose applause for the southern, anti-Douglas oratory was deafening. The gentlemen in the gallery were asked to refrain from using the heads of the men below them as spittoons. That same day the Douglas forces successfully rammed their platform through the convention by a slim margin, displacing the majority report.⁹ There would be no Democratic Party commitment to federal protection for slavery. Fifty delegates from the lower South then walked out, to the cheering of much of Charleston's high society.¹⁰ As they left, delegate Robert Brent of Maryland presciently warned them that their actions would lead to a Republican president opposed to slavery—presumably Seward—and a Congress of similar views.

Any remaining Douglas hopes were dashed by the balloting rule handed down by Chairman Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts: Two-thirds of the ballots of the total number of delegates accredited to the convention would be required for nomination, rather than merely two-thirds of those present.¹¹ Douglas would still need 202 votes—and he almost surely would not get them from the 250 delegates who remained.

The Boston Brass Band opened business on May 2 with "a dozen spirited airs." Maryland delegate William Gittings said he would move, after the thirty-fifth ballot, that the convention reassemble in Baltimore in June: "Mr. G. assured the convention that Baltimore was no longer a Plug Ugly town and promised the delegates a hospitable welcome," reported a local paper, referring to one of the city's most notorious political gangs known for terrorizing its streets on election days. By the morning of May 3, it was plain that the convention was hopelessly deadlocked. The noise levels from the galleries diminished considerably—"the ladies' gallery is very thin, and the poor creatures look down into the hall, vainly seeking objects of interest," wrote one reporter. The convention adjourned, its ten-day effort for naught, and agreed to reconvene in June in Baltimore. Disillusioned delegates boarded train cars, steamers, and carriages to depart Charleston for home.¹²

As the Democrats retreated, two other political parties were in states of great excitement. As the Republicans prepared to open their second nominating convention, in Chicago, the first such convention of the Constitutional Union Party opened in Baltimore at noon on May 9, 1860. The latter occasion was marked by a parade that packed the streets and showed off the city's new steam fire engines. The delegates represented twenty-two states and met in a federal courthouse formerly occupied by the First Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fayette and North Streets. The old church had an illustrious political history, for Andrew Jackson had been nominated there in 1828, and Martin Van Buren in 1836. There were galleries on three sides and "gas fixtures . . . in the event that the convention may sit at night." In attendance were approximately seven hundred aged white males, described by Murat Halstead as "of the eminently respectable class of gentlemen—and most of them are somewhat stale in politics. . . . The delegates seemed to be in high spirits, and to be confident of their ability to make at least a powerful diversion. The general foolishness of the two great parties has given the third unusual animation."¹³ Many of these gentlemen were former Whigs and anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant American Party "Know Nothings" who hailed from the Border States. Distressed by the escalating rhetoric pushing the nation toward division and war, they sought a middle ground, proposing that North and South could remain together if slavery were off the table as a national issue, and all men merely pledged fealty to the constitution.

This effort toward a middle course was led by the venerable, seventy-three-year-old Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, who had assembled fifty members of Congress unaffiliated with Republicans and Democrats to lead the initiative.¹⁴ The party's fundamental principles were "the removal of the slavery question from party politics, development of national resources, maintenance of honorable peace with all nations, strict enforcement of the laws and the powers of the Constitution, and respect for state rights and reverence for the Union."¹⁵ Skeptics questioned the viability of a party with such moderate principles in a time when people were moving to the extremes of the political spectrum. The *New York Herald* described the

convention as a "Great Gathering of Fossil Know Nothings"—but these men were convinced they were on a path to save the Union.¹⁶

When Senator Crittenden opened the convention at noon on May 9, he "was received with applause from the galleries, and the ladies, who occupied the west gallery, waved their handkerchiefs."¹⁷ Murat Halstead, who would cover all four major nominating conventions in this election year, reported:

The Convention insisted on applauding nearly every sentence, and several times refused to let [the Chairman] finish a sentence. It was worse than the applause given by an Irish audience at an archbishop's lecture. . . . during the first hour and a half of the session, I presume at least one hundred rounds of applause were given, and the more the "spreads" applauded, the greater became their zeal. . . . The moment a speaker would say *Constitution . . . Union, American . . .* or anything of the sort, he had to pause for some time until the general rapture would discharge itself by stamping, clapping hands, rattling canes, etc.¹⁸

Though early signs pointed to a ticket of Sam Houston of Texas and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, John Bell of Tennessee won the nomination on the second ballot—a disappointment to the Baltimore ladies, who fancied the dashing Houston and showered the platform with bouquets from the galleries.¹⁹ Bell was a safe choice, a bland and uninspiring lawyer of considerable wealth and owner of eighty slaves and an impressive resumé: state legislator, congressman, Speaker of the House, secretary of war, and U.S. Senator. Maryland awarded 7.5 votes to Bell and half a vote to Houston on both ballots.²⁰ Reflecting the party's stance on slavery, mere mention of it at the convention was prohibited, and when a Pennsylvania delegate did so, he was loudly hissed.²¹

This amiable gathering had little of the sectional bitterness that had earlier destroyed the Whig Party and was threatening the Democrats with the same fate. Baltimore lawyer Brantz Mayer proclaimed slavery a false issue, men's disagreements over it "as harmless and hollow as ghosts manufactured out of sheets and pumpkin."²² These men believed their middle ground would attract enough votes to deprive the major parties of outright victory and send the election to the House of Representatives. But this party's fundamental principles—glorifying the Constitution and Union and enforcing its laws—were little more than platitudes, unlikely to animate an electorate aroused by the more passionate appeals of other parties.

On June 15 and 16, between six and eight thousand people—delegates, press and hangers-on, more than had been in Charleston—poured into Baltimore for the next round of the Democratic convention. The city had staged every national Democratic nominating assembly between 1832 and 1852. Many state delegations brought their own bands. "During Saturday Barnum's Hotel, the Eutaw House, and the other hotels, received their delegations and guests," reported the *Baltimore*



Brantz Mayer (1809–1879), was a prominent nineteenth-century Baltimore lawyer, writer, and historian. (Maryland Historical Society.)

American & Commercial Advertiser, “and in the afternoon the rotundas, halls and parlors, presented a scene seldom witnessed, blocked as they were with baggage, and filled with the strangers in their linen dusters, too busy aiding to swell the political hubbub and hum of voices, to change their travelling apparel.” The paper engaged “two of the most accurate and expert Phonographers of Washington city, with a full corps of assistants, to furnish us with a *verbatim* report of the proceedings,” and then endorsed the Constitutional Union Party: “We will fight on their side . . . and engage to confine Mr. Lincoln to his original occupation of mauling rails.”²³

On Sunday evening, bands attached to various delegations drew several thousand spectators to Monument Square, on Calvert Street, for what one newspaper called “airs in the square.” While the early demeanor of the crowd seemed to favor Douglas, reactions to speeches that lasted until midnight revealed deeper anti-Douglas sentiment, a harbinger that this second effort might also fail to unite the party. The southerners, egged on by fire-eating orators such as Alabama’s William Yancey, were determined to reargue the slave code, and many northern men remained just as determined to fight them on it.²⁴

Though the southerners had met in Richmond the week before, they chose to take no action until the convention reconvened in Baltimore, where they planned to be as disruptive as they’d been in Charleston. Their delegations, other than Florida’s, were intent on claiming the seats they had vacated in Charleston, and as most southern states had since chosen new delegates, refereeing the fight over those seats would be the first order of business.²⁵

On Monday morning, June 18, 303 delegates and almost two hundred editors and reporters filed into the Front Street Theater at 10 A.M. to open the convention. The

Baltimore galleries were with Douglas all the way. Much work had been done to the theater, which, reported the *Baltimore Sun*, featured "a rich and beautiful scenery to relieve the heaviness of the unplastered walls." The dress circle had been designated as the gallery for the ladies, who were to be admitted free. Reports circulated that the free tickets distributed at Barnum's Hotel were being scalped for between two and five dollars. The delegates got down to business with a speech by Chairman Caleb Cushing reminding them that they were in Baltimore to decide the fate of the seats of delegates who had bolted in Charleston, finalize a platform and, choose a presidential nominee. At the outset tensions seemed to abate, per the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*:

the prospect of a solution of the difficulties . . . appeared last evening to be a shade better. The prominent men of both sides were more inclined to talk calmly over the prospects of the party, and while the firmness of neither section appeared to be in the least shaken, there seemed to be a more lively appreciation of the madness of disunion on the question of candidates.²⁶

As the credentials committee began sorting out the contested seats in the southern delegations, other pressing matters arose. Delegate Willard Salisbury Sr., of Delaware, addressed the chair on the matter of tickets, which had apparently been infected by counterfeits: "Some of my delegation are outside and cannot get into the hall," he complained. "They wish tickets; cannot get tickets, and do not know who issues tickets to this Convention. I would like the chair to indicate by what authority tickets are issued, and how delegates will gain admission to the floor of this Convention." The *Baltimore Sun* reported the humorous exchange when Salisbury was asked to speak up: "Mr. President, allow me to say to the gentleman from Delaware that he is now speaking from the stage of a theatre, and it is important that he should face those in the rear, and address them, and not the chair, if he desires to be heard." Salisbury responded, "I wish to say to the gentleman . . . that I am not a theatre man. I never attended a theatre ten times in my life." Came the reply: "Well, you are making your debut then, and we want to hear what you say!"²⁷

Six hours of debate exhorted the delegates either to restore the seceders to their seats or reject their attempts to return and rally around the party's eventual nominee. Maryland delegate Bradley Johnson of Frederick objected to the behavior of the spectators: "As a delegate from Maryland I ask that representatives of this State may be cleared from the imputation cast upon them by the disorder in the gallery. Those joining in the disorder there are not the people of Baltimore. I ask of the Chair that the galleries may be cleared." Johnson was loudly shouted down. Three more hours of oratory entertained those on Monument Square that evening, as supporters of both Senator Douglas and William Yancey screamed at, and over, one another. The next day, as the delegates adjourned, they were greeted by heavy thunderstorms that

curtailed speeches and prompted brisk sales of pro- and anti-Douglas umbrellas.²⁸ But the political climate seemed more favorable to Douglas, with even hints of some southern support.

Convention business was conducted away from the theater floor. Baltimorean Reverdy Johnson, the former Maryland U.S. senator and attorney general who had diligently worked for Douglas in Charleston, hosted supporters in his home on Monument Square, whose balcony provided a platform for evening speeches throughout the week. At Gilmore House, just opposite the square, were the headquarters of the southern Democrats. Rival speakers, bands, and crowds thronged the square, which "packed fuel beneath the already boiling cauldron." On the evening of June 19, rockets were discharged from the windows of the Douglas men. The nighttime noise from the large crowds outside Douglas headquarters was exceeded only by that emanating from the southern headquarters across the square. Tempers rose with the heat of early summer, and fisticuffs erupted on the convention floor between two men from the rival Arkansas delegations. One slapped the other and drew a pistol from his pantaloons, "and a duel [was] only avoided after a series of notes were exchanged according to the custom of the times." Two Delaware delegates fought at five o'clock in the morning when one, a member of Congress, attacked the other in the hall of the Maltby House as he staggered sleepily to the washroom.²⁹

This was the first political convention with telegraph wires in place for instant reporting, and rumors flew across the nation. One held that another southern walkout was imminent; another that Douglas was poised to withdraw.³⁰ Early on the fourth day, "a tremendous crash was heard in the centre of the building, occupied by the New York and Pennsylvania delegations. Delegates rushed in masses to the windows, and climbed, nimbly as monkeys, over the chairs of the reporters seeking, according to appearances, to place themselves under the protection of the president." A section of floor had collapsed, and though no one was injured and the damage was minor, the episode seemed ominous. A recess was called so the floor could be repaired, and despite the inevitable jokes about the party's weak platform, few gleaned much symbolism from its reconstruction.³¹

When the credentials committee presented its majority report, specifying which of the former and current delegations would be seated, events took a dark turn. The southerners were still demanding the federal protection for slavery denied them in Charleston, their credo in Baltimore being "rule or ruin," wrote Georgia congressman Alexander Stephens, soon to be vice president of the Confederacy. Their threat was not empty: If delegates from the upper South refused to join them, they would bolt and form a new party.³²

The mood grew ugly. During an argument over tickets on the fourth day, delegate William Montgomery of Pennsylvania made a disparaging remark about his fellow delegate Josiah Randall, whose son then assaulted Montgomery, "inflicting several severe blows in the face, causing the blood to flow profusely." Montgomery knocked

young Randall down, after which spectators separated them. On Monument Square that night, bands drowned out opposing orators, and the *Sun* described how the "pro-Douglas Keystone Club band of Philadelphia came marching down the centre of the Square, through the mass of people, throwing rockets and bombs to open their way. . . . When nearly in front of the Gilmor House the cry of 'Put them back,' 'Take their instruments,' was raised, and in a moment a surging wave of humanity swept upon the band, knocking their instruments right and left, and blows were struck promiscuously. The police were in the midst of the melee, and struggled manfully to restore order and arrest the ringleaders of the disturbance, but the density of the crowd rendered their removal absolutely impossible."³³

The next day, Friday, June 22, the Douglas majority report—lacking federal protection for slavery—passed by a wide margin. Delegate Charles Russell of Virginia announced his state's withdrawal from the convention. Ignoring pleas about the perils of another party split, the Virginians "rose in a body, and passing into the aisles, proceeded to leave the theatre, shaking hands and bidding personal friends good-by, as they retired," reported Murat Halstad. Next went most delegates from the upper South and a few proslavery men from the North.³⁴ Speeches predicting dire consequences were issued amid great disorder. One hundred and five men walked, more than a third of the total, including most of the delegates from the Deep South and North Carolina, California, Oregon, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, and a majority of the Massachusetts delegation, because, they said, so many others had withdrawn. Nine of the sixteen Maryland delegates joined them.

Ohio Governor David Tod was chosen to preside as chair over the remaining 198 delegates. He immediately recognized the call to vote before more delegates left, in "the din of an indescribable confusion. There were partial responses from some . . . which could hardly be heard, and the Convention seemed rapidly becoming a roaring mob." On the second ballot Douglas received 181.5 votes, with eighteen going to various others. At last the Little Giant had the prize, and the vote was then made unanimous. All decorum evaporated in the commotion that greeted his nomination. The convention recessed until the evening to choose the party's nominee for vice president, an honor awarded to a delegation from the South whose members had not walked out. Senator Benjamin Fitzpatrick from Alabama was chosen on the first ballot, though when he later declined, Georgia governor Herschel Johnson was selected.³⁵

The bolting Maryland delegates had joined their anti-Douglas brethren at Market Hall on Baltimore Street, home of the Maryland Institute for Mechanical Arts, where the southern men were now calling themselves the National Democratic Convention. This venue accommodated 8,000 people, and its galleries were full when their convention opened at noon the next day. Marylanders E. F. Hardcastle and William P. Bowie were chosen as secretary and vice president, respectively. Tremendous applause greeted the arrival of convention chair Caleb Cushing. Wil-

liam Yancey "glowed with satisfaction," and "[Henry T.] Garnett, of Virginia, whose countenance is usually grave as Don Quixote's, seemed pleased as a schoolboy with new boots." One delegate thanked the Almighty for now being able to speak without being hissed and not having to listen to nauseating speeches.³⁶ Vice President John Breckinridge was quickly nominated for president, and Oregon's Senator Joseph Lane for vice president.³⁷ The original majority platform from Charleston, which included protection of slavery in the territories, was adopted. The affair, despite its theatrical antecedents, ended quietly after one day.

John Contee, a bolting Maryland delegate from Buena Vista, published an open letter on June 25, explaining that he had tried faithfully to honor his obligation as a delegate, and that Caleb Cushing's participation as chair had legitimized the southern meeting as the true National Democratic Convention. He urged his fellow citizens to support the Breckinridge and Lane ticket. The next day, the *Baltimore Sun* announced its support for Stephen Douglas as the legitimate nominee of the Democratic Party. A week later, Lt. Col. Robert Edward Lee, Acting Commander of the Department of Texas, United States Army, wrote to a friend: "The papers will give you news of the Baltimore convention. If Judge Douglas would now withdraw and join himself and party to aid in the election of Breckinridge, he might retrieve himself before the country and Lincoln be defeated. Politicians I fear are too selfish to become martyrs."³⁸

After the South Carolina legislature had passed resolutions late in 1859 affirming their state's right to secede and suggesting that slave states meet to consider measures for "united action," Governor William Gist had sent the resolutions to Maryland governor Thomas Hicks, requesting he submit them to the Maryland legislature. Hicks had replied that he would "cheerfully comply" but suggested that Marylanders were not likely to join with South Carolina.³⁹ He then uttered one sentence that critics have used, unjustly, to tar him as disloyal: "We also respectfully, but earnestly, desire to assure our brethren of South Carolina, that should the hour ever arrive when the Union must be dissolved, Maryland will cast her lot with her sister states of the South"—a pledge the Maryland legislature would refuse to honor after the war broke out, and a statement inconsistent with Hicks's sustained and public support for the Union.⁴⁰

DESPITE ITS YOUTH, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY was poised to capitalize on widespread fear and anxiety in the country, and in 1860 it was better organized and more unified than its rivals. Senator William Henry Seward seemed the front-runner for the nomination in the newly constructed Wigwam in Chicago, where the Republicans gathered on May 16 in the first convention site to have a press box for reporters. Abraham Lincoln's managers, however, believed that Seward's antislavery stance would cost him the key northern states and thus the election. Their strategy—to position Lincoln as the perfect antidote to the tension between the sections and the

widespread anger over the massive corruption in the Buchanan administration—worked beautifully, for Seward's support began to evaporate after the first ballot. Lincoln was nominated on the third—thanks to the skills of his managers, his standing as a former Whig from a vital industrial state, and because he had fewer enemies than his better-known rivals: Seward, Ohio governor Salmon P. Chase, and former congressman Edward Bates of Missouri—all of whom would serve in Lincoln's first cabinet. Murat Halstead described the cacophonous reaction in the Wigwam when Howard Judd nominated Lincoln: "The uproar was beyond description. Imagine all the hogs ever slaughtered in Cincinnati giving their death squeals together, a score of big steam whistles going, and you conceive something of the same nature."⁴¹

The pragmatic Lincoln articulated the rationale behind his nomination: "My name is new in the field; and I suppose I am not the *first* choice of a very great many," he wrote to Samuel Galloway in March. "Our policy, then, is to give no offense to others—leave them in a mood to come to us, if they shall be compelled to give up their first love." He was certainly not the first choice of an irate New England man, who complained that "you fellows at Chicago . . . knew that above everything else these times demanded a statesman, and you have gone and given us a *rail splitter*." Lincoln was further described in the *Charleston Mercury* as a "horrid-looking wretch . . . sooty and scoundrelly . . . a cross between the nutmeg dealer, the horse swapper, and the nightman." Even William Herndon, his law partner, volunteered that Lincoln's coarse black hair "lay floating where fingers or wind left it."⁴²

The Republican convention in Chicago, though unable to compete with the fisticuffs of the Democrats, was not without its farcical elements. On the first day considerable discussion was devoted to an invitation from the Chicago Board of Trade for a delegates' boating excursion on Lake Michigan. Allegations of counterfeit tickets flew. Seward's handlers engaged a professional boxer to round up vocal supporters for him. The chair of the convention tried unsuccessfully to prevent Maryland's eleven delegates from voting, on grounds that the state had never had a Republican Party. More serious was the argument that erupted over the omission of the statement of equality ("that all men are created equal") from the 1856 party platform, though wise veterans of the antislavery wars, led by Ohio congressman Joshua Giddings, restored it.⁴³

The Republican Party's "rail-splitter" image of Lincoln as a symbol of strength and American fortitude presented a sharp contrast with its portrait of southern aristocrats who grew rich off the backs of slaves. While adhering to the custom of the day by not campaigning publicly himself, Lincoln delved into campaign reports from journalists and party members in key states, wrote hundreds of letters to allies, and successfully refereed a fight between party leaders in Pennsylvania, a state essential to a Republican victory in November. He paid his respects to Senator Seward at the Springfield train station as Seward passed through en route to Chicago. State and county-wide meetings to "ratify" the ticket of Abraham Lincoln and

vice-presidential candidate Hannibal Hamlin of Maine became effective vehicles for recruiting eager supporters who organized parades, barbecues and clubs—the latter giving the Republicans a presence in new areas, especially in lower north and border states. The more ambitious clubs raised money for the party's local candidates as well as for themselves and exuded a quasi-military character, marching by torchlight in oilcloth caps and capes that glistened from the kerosene dripping from their torches. They became known as "Wide-Awakes," and they lent the Republican campaign an aura of intrigue. Democrats, scrambling to counter them, started clubs called "Chloroformers," whose goal was to put the "Wide-Awakes" to sleep, but their efforts gained little traction.⁴⁴

The Republicans labored to position themselves as the party of reform, committed to honest government and a democratic capitalism wedded to free labor and economic growth. Under their leadership the growing nation would enjoy a vital infrastructure of new canals, navigable harbors, and railroads that would drive commerce. Farmers and working men—especially foreign-born—were promised easily available farmland, underscoring the Republican Party's interest in westward expansion. Perhaps most important, their antislavery vision—aimed particularly at Protestants who disliked slavery, including many newly arrived German immigrants—sprang from the words of the founding fathers and the egalitarian principles enumerated in the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln himself was portrayed as a conservative, a pious Christian, and the perfect candidate for Unionist voters—especially in the lower north—who disliked slavery but also strident abolitionism.

Republican campaigners worked especially hard to secure the four key states the party had lost in 1856—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. State and local Republican operatives took full advantage of their party's hundreds of newspapers; in Ohio alone the party had more than 120 of them. One historian estimated that Republicans made approximately 50,000 speeches during the campaign. In keeping with tradition, candidate biographies were quickly published and widely distributed, including eighteen of Lincoln. The Republicans clearly recognized the opportunity handed them by the Democratic Party's disarray. Political kingmaker Thurlow Weed of New York wrote Lincoln in June that "the madness which precedes destruction has come at last upon our opponents."⁴⁵

Breckinridge's southern Democrats and Bell's Constitutional Unionists ran uninspiring campaigns. Neither challenged the Republican characterization of Lincoln as a pious Protestant, nor did they illuminate for voters the party's anti-Catholic sentiments, manifested by antipathy toward immigrants and the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁶ The Breckinridge men devoted considerable resources to attacking Douglas, though the two joined forces to spread the scurrilous rumor that Lincoln's running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, had black ancestry. For their part, Republicans lampooned the Constitutional Unionists as "Bell Ringers" and "Do Nothings." Several key Bell allies in the South found themselves drawn into the turbulent waters of slavery and,

rather than hewing to the party line of neutrality on the issue, endorsed constitutional protection for it, thereby driving some northern supporters to switch to Lincoln.

Douglas's mercurial temperament generated much intrigue in his campaign. His brilliant political mind, fueled by copious amounts of alcohol, drove a self-portrayal as the only candidate whose election could prevent a southern secession. Douglas reverted to a tactic used against Lincoln in their 1858 U.S. Senate race, accusing the Republicans of seeking not only freedom but equality for blacks—a potentially damning accusation at a time when even many abolitionists did not accept racial equality. His campaign tried to portray Lincoln as a coarse man—a Douglas paper in Springfield, Illinois, noted that “his qualifications for side-splitting are quite as good as for rail-splitting . . . but neither vocation is supposed to be carried out extensively in the white house.” In July, when Douglas broke with the tradition of the times to campaign publicly (becoming the first presidential candidate to do so nationally), he attempted to disguise the purpose of his speaking tour as wishing to visit his mother and the grave of his father, and to attend the Harvard graduation of his brother-in-law. The Republican response mocked Douglas's short stature by posting handbills seeking “A Boy Lost”: “The lost boy is about 5 feet nothing in height and answers the same in diameter the other way.”⁴⁷

Douglas recognized that the impressive Republican triumphs in battleground state elections in pivotal states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana in October meant that a Lincoln victory in November was likely. Douglas conceded the race, donned a statesman's mantle and announced that he would stump through the South to sound the alarm of an impending *coup d'état* by the southern states. “Mr. Lincoln is the next President,” he said. “We must try to save the Union. I will go South.” And so he did, attacking secession with his deft and inimitable elegance, before large crowds in North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, where he endured a hail of boos, eggs, and tomatoes. In the spring of 1861, just weeks before he died, Douglas would confess that he “had leaned too far to the Southern section of the Union,” in his efforts at appeasement.⁴⁸

Douglas's warnings of secession in the wake of a Lincoln victory, and his race-baiting of the Republicans, forced the latter party to establish a clear political identity for their candidate. Lincoln's history as a Whig and acolyte of U.S. Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky (whose long advocacy of internal improvements that would drive economic growth resonated especially well in the northern industrial states), and the Republican portrayal of the Democrats as corrupt were powerful campaign issues. But calibrating Lincoln's message on the explosive slavery issue required great care and nuance. Lincoln's conviction that he would neither interfere with slavery where it existed, nor allow it to expand, was well known; his task was to convince voters that he did not advocate black equality without alienating the party's vocal anti-slavery constituency. The solution was not attacking slavery as an institution but slaveholders themselves, portraying them as entitled aristocrats who sipped mint juleps on their

verandas while clinging to feudal agrarian ideals and professing disdain for industrial growth. This strategy took on the character of a class war, the message targeted at the "pro-slavery Democracy" and aimed at multiple Republican constituencies.

The Republican coalition of old-line Whigs, Protestants, nativists, and immigrants carried Abraham Lincoln to a resounding victory in November of 1860. He won the electoral vote decisively, taking every free state but New Jersey, where he still won some electoral votes—an impressive feat considering that voters in many southern states had no Republican/Lincoln ballots with which to vote (parties at that time printed and distributed their own ballots). He won every county in New England; with 152 electoral votes needed to win, he racked up a total of 180. Although Lincoln won only 39.8 percent of the popular vote nationally—still a record for the winner of a U.S. presidential election—he won 54 percent of votes cast in the north. Douglas placed second in the overall popular vote but won only New Jersey and Missouri, for a total of twelve electoral votes, finishing dead last by that all-important measure. Breckinridge finished third in the popular vote and second in the electoral vote, with 72.

The election reinforced the sectional polarization of the nation over slavery—58 percent of the national popular vote went for either Lincoln or John Breckinridge, who to many voters represented the two extremes on the issue. John Bell's Constitutional Union party failed to resonate with northern voters; in only three northern states did he garner more than 3 percent of the popular vote. Bell did carry the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, and his home state of Tennessee, and he ran a strong second in Maryland, where he won 39 electoral votes. But the election of 1860 meant far more than the end of the Constitutional Unionists; it set in motion the final cataclysmic series of events that would bring down slavery in the United States. The South had suffered through a terrible drought that summer, a harbinger of the horrors that secession and four years of civil war would inflict on its people, now that a divided nation had essentially decided the slavery issue in favor of the North.

The Republicans, knowing that Maryland would not be low-hanging fruit, quickly put in place damage-control measures. They tried unsuccessfully to mobilize German support and to prevent their opponents from forming tickets in the state. Maryland leaders such as Montgomery Blair—he of the distinguished Blair family and its estate, Silver Spring—attempted to reassure Marylanders that Republicans, true to Lincoln's promise, would not ban slavery in the state—choosing instead to stress topics sure to resonate with the business community, such as Baltimore's growing strength as a commercial center. But little came of the Lincoln campaign's efforts in Maryland. Parading Wide-Awakes were showered with eggs and bricks and endured the residue of burning cayenne sticks, that nineteenth-century version of tear gas. In late October, a parade of several hundred Baltimore Republicans led to a near riot, with the marchers pelted with eggs, stones, and garbage: "Wonderful to relate there was no one killed and no one badly beaten," reported one city newspaper.⁴⁹

The Douglas Democrats could not shake the yoke of their nominee's popular sovereignty doctrine, and they were undermined by the better organized Breckinridge men, who got their men onto local political committees. Despite speeches in September by Douglas himself in Frederick—where he was feted by “roar of cannon”—and in Baltimore, his campaign's failure to forge an alliance with the Constitutional Unionists had doomed any chance of a strong Douglas showing in Maryland. The Constitutional Unionist message of fealty to Union and Constitution, all else be damned, resonated well in Maryland—despite its trite campaign slogan, “Our Bell rings to the sound of Union. Try it.”⁵⁰

Breckinridge pulled in more than 39,500 Maryland votes (45.7 percent), which gave him all eight of Maryland's electoral votes. Bell ran a close second with 38,750 votes (45.2 percent), while Douglas finished a distant third with 5,700 votes (6.5 percent). Lincoln, who finished fourth in Maryland, won 2,249 votes (2.5 percent) and in seven counties received no votes whatsoever. His election was poorly received in counties in southern Maryland and on the eastern shore, where slaves still worked plantation soil depleted of nutrients from two centuries of relentless tobacco cultivation. Men in the Charles County town of Beantown passed a resolution requesting that anyone who had voted for Lincoln leave the county by January 1. The *Baltimore Sun's* post-election editorial spoke volumes: “As we cannot offer to the readers of *The Sun* one word of congratulation on so inauspicious a result, we are disposed to do no more than announce the fact this morning.” Even loyal Unionists were on edge in the spring following Lincoln's inauguration. In March 1861, Hester A. Davis, the wife of Montgomery County planter Allen Bowie Davis, wrote to her daughter, Rebecca: “To my mind we are living in the World's Saturday night, that you and perhaps I will witness most extraordinary and unlooked for changes in the aspect of things, perhaps the entire abolition of slavery . . . many in our state helpless, unarmed, and entirely surrounded by troops, at the risk of having Baltimore sacked and burned . . . I fear this secession element. It would be certain to ruin all *our hopes as a family* in this world.”⁵¹

The results of the 1860 election in Maryland were striking nonetheless: A sound majority—54.2 percent—of Maryland ballots were cast for one of three Unionist candidates; Breckinridge's plurality of just under 46 percent endorsed neither disunion nor secession. Many Marylanders saw no contradiction in the simultaneous embrace of Unionism and slavery, and as would be the case throughout most of the Civil War years, many planters remained loyal as long as the constitution of their state sanctioned ownership of slaves and, in tandem with the federal Fugitive Slave Law, thereby offered protection for their business and property interests. The outcome of the election in Maryland, the antipathy of the state's voters for Abraham Lincoln notwithstanding, contradicts the traditional narrative of Maryland as a Confederate state-in-waiting. Marylanders remained faithful to the idea of Union, for more than half their ballots were cast for the three men who believed as they did.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, April 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 19, 1860. The latter spelled the band's name "Gilmor."
2. Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1948), 291; William B. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), 40–41.
3. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 18. Charleston hotels and rooming houses were looking forward to a lucrative week. The price for a parlor and bedroom suite in a top hotel was approximately \$75 per day, and a state delegation paid \$100 per day to stay at St. Andrews Hall. Meals were extra: breakfast was \$1.00, supper and dinner, \$1.50 each (see *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860).
4. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed residents of those territories to choose whether they would be free or slave. It became a rallying cry for the doctrine of popular sovereignty, whose chief proponent was Douglas. The act overrode the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in either territory.
5. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War 1859–1861* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 24, 1860; Nichols, *Disruption*, 295; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 23.
6. *Baltimore Sun*, April 26, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 33–34, 37, 39; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 26, 1860. William D. Bowie was chosen vice president and Levin Wolford secretary of the Maryland delegation. The death of John S. Robinson, the Vermont delegate, is reported in *Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, convened at Charleston, S.C., April 23, 1860* (Washington: Thomas McGill, Printer, 1860), 14. Seats were contested in Massachusetts, Maryland, Illinois, and New York—see *Proceedings*, 12.
7. Nichols, *Disruption*, 302; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 67.
8. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 1, 1860. Halstead reported the incident slightly differently, stating that when Gittings rose to renew the motion (to vote for a nominee), the Alabama delegate, whom Halstead called "Cooper," said, "I don't second the motion of that man down yonder" (italics added)—see Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69–70. William S. Gittings was a delegate from Baltimore City. The *Baltimore Sun* on June 22, 1860, referred to Thomas B. Cooper as a delegate from Alabama, and its issue of June 23 referred to both Hooper and Cooper. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* gave the name as "Hooper" on May 1. The Douglas men were staying at the Mills House, and southern men at the Charleston Hotel. The reporter brawling at the Mills House was Langmore of the *St. Louis Republican*.
9. Maryland's delegates voted 3.5 yeas and 4.5 nays on the Douglas platform. Spittoons in Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 69.
10. James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 215. The delegations from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, and Texas left—see *Proceedings*, 35–46, for their withdrawal announcements. Halstead reports that they left the floor and took seats as spectators.
11. Bruce Catton, *The Coming Fury* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961), 36; William Lee Miller, *Arguing About Slavery: The Great Battle in the United States Congress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 481. Miller explains that the two-thirds rule had been used in the

conventions of 1832 and 1836, but not the 1840 convention, and that its reinstatement at the 1844 convention—led by southern delegates—gave the South a regional veto over party decisions. Caleb Cushing was a brilliant orator and former Massachusetts congressman who had entered Harvard at age 13 and whose early abolitionist ardor had cooled by 1860.

12. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 3, 1860; *Baltimore Sun*, May 3, 1860.

13. *Baltimore Sun*, May 9, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 121, 123.

14. Less than a year later Crittenden would author the great compromise named for him, one of several attempts early in 1861 to entice the seceded states back and keep the upper-South and border states from joining the Confederacy. The Crittenden Compromise was a series of constitutional amendments to protect slavery. It was opposed by Lincoln (yet to be inaugurated) and defeated on the Senate floor, 25–23, on January 16, 1861. All 25 votes were cast by Republicans. In another of the Civil War's many ironies, two of Crittenden's sons became generals—one on each side.

15. Donald W. Curl, "The Baltimore Convention of the Constitutional Union Party," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 254; Joseph H. Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 349; *New York Herald*, May 9, 1860, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 352.

16. *New York Herald*, May 9, 1860, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 352.

17. *Baltimore Sun*, May 10, 1860.

18. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 123, 127 (italics Halstead's). In his reporting, Halstead used several slang expressions of the time: "spreads" were important people, and "Plugs" referred to the rowdy gangs of the period. Other terms included "swells" for men dressed too well and "screws" for misers. See Hesseltine, 307.

19. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 131–4 (balloting). Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 353, gives the results of the second ballot as 138 for Bell and 69 for Houston.

20. Four Maryland delegates attended, and three were given key posts: Dennis Claude became vice president; S. C. Long, secretary; and U.S. Senator Anthony Kennedy was chosen a member of the party's Executive Union Committee. Kennedy was the brother of John P. Kennedy, a lawyer, novelist, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and who from 1838 to 1846 was a Whig member of Congress from Maryland. J. P. Kennedy served as Millard Fillmore's secretary of the navy in 1852 and 1853 and became an ardent unionist after the Civil War began. See Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 124, 138.

21. Bernard C. Steiner: *Life of Henry Winter Davis* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1916), 162, 163, 169, quoted in Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee*, 373. Davis, a Know-Nothing Congressman from Baltimore from 1858 to 1865 (not continuously) and one of the outstanding orators of his generation, was a strong unionist who opposed secession on both constitutional and economic grounds.

22. Brantz Mayer quoted in William J. Evitts: *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 146.

23. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860. (Italics theirs.)

24. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860.

25. Betty D. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860: Prelude to Secession," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 67 (1972): 243. Some accounts state erroneously that the southern seceders nominated a candidate at their Richmond meeting. They did not.

26. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 18, 1860.

27. Nichols, *Disruption*, 313; *Baltimore Sun*, June 19, 1860 (italics theirs). Halstead spelled the name "Saulsbury," as did the *Sun* in its June 23 edition and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* in its June 19 edition.
28. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 198, 207; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 19, 1860. Johnson later fought for the Confederacy and helped lead a cavalry raid in 1864 that terrorized Baltimore City.
29. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860, and June 20, 1860; Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 247; *Baltimore Sun*, June 21, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1860.
30. *Baltimore Sun*, June 18, 1860. By telegram and letter, Douglas authorized his forces to withdraw his name for the sake of party unity; they refused. Not until after his nomination was his offer to withdraw revealed to the convention. The full text of Douglas' letter appears in the *Sun* of June 25, 1860.
31. *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 211.
32. Greeman, "The Democratic Convention of 1860," 249. Stephens quoted in George Fort Milton: *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), 468.
33. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 220–21; *Baltimore Sun*, June 22, 1860; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 22, 1860.
34. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 234 (the reports of the Credentials Committee are given verbatim on pages 211–19); McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 216.
35. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 244–45, 251, 255. Maryland awarded Douglas two and a half votes.
36. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 267–68; *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Institute Hall was also called Market Hall at that time. William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1973), 24, writes that nine of sixteen Maryland delegates bolted; I have been unable to verify that claim elsewhere.
37. Breckinridge received 81 votes, to 20 for former senator and Buchanan ally Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, though after the first ballot the Dickinson votes switched to Breckinridge to make his nomination unanimous. Maryland cast 1.5 votes for Breckinridge and three for Dickinson. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25, 1860. Many sources erroneously state that Breckinridge was nominated in Richmond, where the seceders first met, without acting, following Charleston.
38. *Baltimore Sun*, June 25 and June 26, 1860; Robert E. Lee to Major Earl Van Dorn, July 3, 1860, Lee Papers, Library of Congress, quoted in Catton, *The Coming Fury*, 68.
39. William H. Gist to Thomas H. Hicks, December 30, 1859; "Resolutions in Relation to Federal Affairs," December 16, 1859, and Thomas H. Hicks to William H. Gist, January 26, 1860, all in *Maryland House and Senate Documents, 1859, Document F*. Hicks' original letter to Gist is in MS 1860, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society Library.
40. "We also respectfully" in both "Report of the Committee on Ways and Means" and "Report of the Select Committee on the Resolutions of the Legislature of South Carolina" (in *Maryland General Assembly Documents, House Document KK and Senate Document CC*, both dated March 8, 1860).
41. Halstead, *Three Against Lincoln*, 165 (hogs); Douglas R. Edgerton, *Year of Meteors: Stephen Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and the Election that Brought on the Civil War* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010), 129–30 (press box).
42. Abraham Lincoln to Samuel Galloway, March 24, 1860, in Roy P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:34; Edgerton,

Year of Meteors, 125 (hair); William E. Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1937), 313, in Richard Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 111 (rail-splitter); *New York Tribune*, June 11, 1860 (nutmeg dealer . . . nightman).

43. Hesseltine, *Three Against Lincoln*, 145; Horace Greeley, *Proceedings of the First Three Republican National Conventions of 1856, 1860, 1864* (C.W. Johnson, 1893), 91; Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 140 (counterfeit tickets and boxer) and 133 (Maryland delegates).

44. Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1944), 174, in Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*, 116.

45. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 223 (speeches); Thurlow Weed to Abraham Lincoln, June 25, 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, in Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 174.

46. See Carwardine, *A Life of Purpose and Power*, 124–25, for an incisive analysis.

47. Carwardine, *Lincoln: A Life of Purpose and Power*, 126–127 (side-splitting); Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 199–200 (speaking tour, “A Boy Lost”).

48. David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 441, in Edgerton, *Year of Meteors*, 203 (Lincoln next president), 205 (tomatoes) and 2 (“leaned too far”).

49. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1860, and *Baltimore Wecker*, November 1, 1860, in Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 36 (cayenne sticks).

50. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 15, 1860, quoted in Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 41.

51. *Baltimore Sun*, November 7 and December 3 (Beantown meeting), 1860; Hester Anne (Wilkins) Davis to Rebecca Davis, May 24, 1861, A. B. Davis Papers, MS 1511, Maryland Historical Society Library. More remarkable was a peaceful Baltimore election after years of election-day violence, this one marred only by the accidental wounding (as recounted in the *Baltimore Sun*) of a policeman by another member of the force who had unholstered his revolver after being struck by a spittoon hurled from Bell headquarters.



George W. Welzant (right), pictured here with Rev. Mieczyslaw Barabasz, envisioned a thriving Polish colony near Baltimore. (Author's collection.)

George W. Welzant and the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company

THOMAS L. HOLLOWAK

In most Polish communities throughout the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, religious and lay leaders worked toward the material improvement of their fellow Poles. That was certainly true in Baltimore's *Polonia*¹ as well, and though leadership was divided among several religious and lay groups there was only one man who had the vision, as well as the enterprising spirit, to create a colony expressly for the benefit of his fellow compatriots. George W. Welzant possessed the qualities needed to make his vision a reality, but the timing of his enterprise, after an initial success, would lead to its demise and his downfall.

After the Civil War, Maryland and many southern states became interested in attracting foreign immigrants to settle in rural areas that lacked cultivation or were abandoned by local farmers. There was also an element of discrimination in that the landholders were dissatisfied with newly freed slaves as farm laborers. In an effort to attract foreign immigrants, states like Maryland, which created a Bureau of Immigration, worked to attract immigrants in Europe and among those who had settled in the West.² Maryland's efforts, which were directed toward attracting German and Scandinavian immigrants, met with limited success. The state made no real effort to attract the Poles who were increasingly arriving at Baltimore's Locust Point after 1868. The vast majority of Polish immigrants who arrived in Baltimore boarded trains to the Midwest or anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, though a small number did settle in Baltimore. This nascent Polish community was at first located in Fells Point. Its numbers gradually increased as early immigrants brought family members or wrote to friends back home to persuade them to emigrate and settle in the city. Many found work in the canneries or along the waterfront. By the mid-1880s, Baltimore's *Polonia* had established two Polish Catholic churches, as well as numerous religious, political, and social organizations, and they began to expand beyond Fells Point into Canton and across the harbor at Locust Point.³ Many of the women and children would leave the city in the spring to go into the fields in Anne Arundel and Baltimore County to pick strawberries and other crops, returning in

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the fall to work in the waterfront canneries. Beginning in 1890, some families left to spend the winter on the Gulf Coast, where they worked in canneries that had been recently established there.⁴

Though Maryland's Bureau of Immigration may have overlooked them in its colonization schemes, recruiters from other southern states were not so neglectful. In 1889, Colonel Julian Allen of Statesville, North Carolina, came to Baltimore seeking Polish immigrants to settle in Virginia and North Carolina. On July 15 he spoke at a gathering of Poles in the hall of Holy Rosary Church, supposedly with the active support of both Cardinal James Gibbons and Rev. Piotr Chowaniec, pastor of the Polish church. A newspaper reporter wrote that the meeting was attended by five hundred Poles, and they were so enthusiastic about the project that they asked Rev. Chowaniec to visit both states and report back to the congregation. His article further stated, "It is estimated there are 5,000 Polish families in Baltimore, and that the majority of them would gladly settle in Virginia and North Carolina." A few days later Chowaniec wrote to the *Baltimore Sun* denying that he would go to North Carolina. He also emphasized that Cardinal Gibbons "has not given his approval to Col. Allen's colonization plans."⁵

Chowaniec's denial of his and the cardinal's involvement, and by extension, support for the colonization scheme, may have been self-serving in that he did not relish relocating to an agrarian community or losing a majority of his congregation. He may have been dissuaded from his initial support for the plan out of fear that, since Holy Rosary was the smaller of the two Polish congregations, the cardinal would decide to close the parish if it lost a significant number of its congregants.

Although this attempt to create a Polish colony in 1889 did not succeed, it apparently planted the idea of a venture closer to Baltimore in the mind of Baltimore's leading Polish entrepreneur, George W. Welzant. However, with Chowaniec firmly opposed to any colonization plans that would reduce his congregation, Welzant could not move forward without the risk of alienating this important religious leader.

When Piotr Chowaniec died suddenly on May 25, 1892, Welzant saw an opportunity to realize his vision.⁶ Chowaniec's death led to a confrontation between the archdiocese and the congregation over Chowaniec's successor. Although it apparently was resolved with the appointment of a newly ordained priest, Felix Szulborski, by 1893 a schism developed within the congregation when Szulborski was demoted to curate and Rev. Mieczyslaw Barabasz was appointed pastor. Welzant allied himself with Barabasz, who rewarded him by naming him a trustee.⁷ Barabasz, with his congregation divided, needed the support of a powerful leader, and although he did not actively support Welzant's colonization plan, neither did he oppose it.

During the summer Welzant met with potential investors in Baltimore and Philadelphia, and on October 18, 1893, the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company of Baltimore City was incorporated to buy, sell, mortgage, lease, improve, dispose

or otherwise deal in lands with a capital stock of \$24,000 divided into 240 shares at \$100 each.⁸ As the only Polish member of the firm, he would serve as the company's treasurer and sales agent.⁹ Despite its incorporation in Baltimore City, the Polish colony at New Warsaw would be located in adjacent Baltimore County.

Born Wladyslaw Welzant in September 1865 at Gniezno, Poland, Welzant came to America in 1881 in search of his father. The elder Welzant had immigrated to America earlier, but the family had not heard from him since his departure from Poland several years before. After George completed his education, he learned the trade of a coat trimmer before emigrating to America. Supposedly, after a two-year journey during which he visited all thirty-eight states, he located his father in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. For reasons unknown, father and son came to Baltimore sometime around 1884. Years later a fellow countryman remembered that, "When he arrived in Baltimore he was [as] ragged and poor as a church mouse, just a tramp." Eventually he brought his mother Franciszka, along with his five sisters and two brothers from Poland to Baltimore. Sometime after coming to Baltimore he met and married Jadwiga Lisiecka, who had arrived in Baltimore either in 1880 or 1881.¹⁰

An acquaintance who was not kindly disposed towards him stated that with Welzant, "There's nothing there but business, business, and more business! What he has isn't enough for him." Although meant as a criticism, Welzant's ability to succeed and his enterprising spirit cannot be denied. By 1888 he had opened a saloon at the corner of Bond Street and Canton Avenue, to which he added a grocery store. In 1891 he started the first Polish language newspaper in Baltimore, *Polonia*. He also published books and other printed materials and acted as an agent for several European steamship lines. In May 1893 he was one of the founders of the Kosciuszko

Piotr Chowaniec.



Rev. Piotr Chowaniec of the Holy Rosary Church in Baltimore rejected a proposal to relocate members of the Polish community to North Carolina or Virginia. ("Commerative Issue", *Jednosc-Polonia*, December 1926.)

Building and Loan Association, serving as its president. His business interests were coupled with involvement in religious, political, and social organizations.¹¹

It probably was no coincidence that the establishment of the Kosciuszko Bank occurred at the same time as the development of the Polish colony at New Warsaw. The proposed new town was located about three miles from Baltimore, just east of Back River, between the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In August the *Baltimore American* reported, "One hundred and eighty acres of land has been purchased, and an option is held on twice as much more. After the proper titles to the land have been secured, arrangements will be made for the placing of several manufacturing plants which will employ a large number of people. Among other manufactories mentioned are a shirt and overalls factory and a shoe factory. A brick yard, capable of a large output, will also be established. The projectors of the scheme have promised several acres of land free for a church and school house." The paper's reporter described the site as a "splendid, level country with excellent surface drainage," and added that, "The name determined upon for the new town is Warsaw. It will remind the inhabitants of their fatherland."¹²

Around the time of Warsaw's incorporation, the *Baltimore Sun* ran a feature story on the city's Polish residents, who, the paper informed its readers, numbered around "23,000 . . . residing . . . in . . . about forty-five squares of dwellings in Fells Point, extending from Pratt Street down to the water's edge and from Caroline Street on the west to Washington Street on the east." The article also mentioned the expansion of the Poles into areas outside of Fells Point. Thirty families, including about 150 persons, lived in Mt. Clare, in southwest Baltimore; 200 families, comprising 300 persons, lived in Canton, and a small colony was at Locust Point. In all, about 8,000 were scattered in various places about the city outside of the Fells Point colony, but those were included in the 23,000 given as the number of Polish residents of Baltimore. This enumeration also included Lithuanians from a certain province of Europe, but the reporter cautioned its readers that this group of "Poles and Lithuanians must not be confused with the Polish Jews, whose colony lies south of Baltimore street and between Front and Caroline streets."¹³ The *Sun* also noted:

Like most foreign colonies in large American cities, the Poles here have their leader, chosen tacitly by natural selection. Mr. G. W. Welzant is this leader in Baltimore, and he is adviser in general to the whole colony. What he says goes. . . . Mr. Welzant is the proprietor of the Polish paper *Polonia*, published on South Bond Street. It circulates among the Poles throughout the Union. Its editor is Dr. Julian Czupka who was a lawyer in his own country. Mr. Joseph Bernolak, the vice-editor, was a commissioned officer in the Austrian Army. Mr. Welzant, in addition to his publishing business, runs a saloon which sells fifty barrels of beer a week, keeps a grocery, is interested in a brewery, is in land enterprises, is

a steamship passenger agent, an insurance agent and a money broker. Besides this he takes an active interest in the politics of the second ward, and can put his hands, it is said, on five thousand Polish voters. A prominent Pole said yesterday when Mr. Welzant tells the Poles to people the new town they'll do it. It is proposed to have small farm plots and to start a copper smelting shop, a brick-yard and a tailoring shop there.¹⁴

As promotions for the new Polish colony were about to begin, an ominous note in the local press stated that although "values were tolerably firm, the [real estate] market [was] sluggish." This may have prompted Welzant in late November to arrange an excursion for approximately two hundred Poles living in the vicinity of Holy Rosary to travel to the proposed colony of New Warsaw. During the tour he explained the conditions under which they could become members. By this time the property had been surveyed, and lots approximately 25 x 100 feet had been laid out in a grid pattern. Among the thirteen streets, eight were named after Polish places and people: Kosciuszko, Polonia, Sobieski, Warsaw, Krakau [*sic*], Pulaski, Posen, and Gnesen [*sic*]; four were named after trees and the street nearest the North East Creek was named Edgewater.¹⁵

Despite the town's creation, it was not until December 3, 1893 that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad completed its sale to Clayton M. Emrich of the 180 acres of land in Baltimore County's Twelfth District for \$6,666.67. Emrich, a former Marylander, owned a hotel in Washington, D.C. Although not a director, he was the chief stockholder of the New Warsaw Company.¹⁶ Prior to the sale being finalized, that same Sunday edition of the *Baltimore Morning Herald* reported that, "Nearly 100 tracts have been disposed of. Four hundred visited the property two weeks ago with a view to settling there and eight carloads will leave the Broadway station of the Pennsylvania railroad at 1:30 o'clock today with the same objects in view."¹⁷

A week later the *Herald* noted that investors were becoming interested in the New Warsaw Land and Industry Company; leaders of the Polish community were involved in the promotion of the enterprise, and there were good prospects for manufacturing enterprises being located there in 1894. Among those was a copper smelter, capable of converting fifty tons of ore daily, that would begin operation in the spring, and a site for the canning factory had been selected. A brick-yard and shirt factory were also certainties in the near future.¹⁸

A few weeks later, on January 27, 1894, the *Sun* reported that several Philadelphia capitalists were considering investing in the construction of a 4.5-mile electric railway running from Canton to Back River, to be known as the Baltimore, Middle River and Sparrows Point Electric Railway. The group initially met with the county surveyor to review the proposed route, and in a follow-up article on February 10, the capitalists indicated to the *Sun* reporter their willingness to finance 65 percent of the project and to finance the remaining 35 percent offered the remaining stock at

eight-three cents per share. When the group hired the county surveyor as the engineer for the company, its president, Thomas B. Gatch, stated there was no doubt of the road's construction. The Baltimore County commissioners granted the company's petition to allow the tracks to be placed in the center of Eastern Avenue in Canton and were expected to vote to extend the time for commencing construction until August 23, 1894.¹⁹

Contemporary land records for Baltimore County for this period do not reflect the newspapers' optimism with regard to land sales. Not until February 13, 1894 did the first real estate transactions for New Warsaw appear in the press, and they indicate that the only Poles who purchased lots in the new town were John Schultz, John Weber, Ignacy Rybarczyk, Joseph and Frances Mroz, and Joseph Bucewicz. On February 16, 1894 additional lots were sold to Konstanty Liesko, Alfons Krasowski, Frank Drazba, Julian Czupka, and Annie Lisiecki. The latter was Jadwiga Welzant's sister-in-law.²⁰

On April 2, 1894 the Baltimore *Morning Herald* devoted considerable space to George Welzant's latest chartered excursion to New Warsaw:

Yesterday was a gala day for the Polish people of East Baltimore. Hundreds dressed in festive attire took advantage of the first excursion to Warsaw, the new Polish settlement on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad, about five miles from the city. About 2 o'clock, with band and banners, about 400 Poles, accompanied by their wives and children and sweethearts, marched toward the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Depot [and] boarded a special train of seven cars which had been chartered for the occasion. George W. Welzant took charge of the excursionists. Professor Lisiecki's Orchestra played selections on the train. The engine . . . was decorated with the Stars and Stripes and a Polish Flag.

Warsaw being reached the excursionists dismounted from the train and proceeded to enjoy themselves. The Polish youth betook themselves to sportive pastimes of all sorts. The elders inspected the new settlement from end to end. Young men and women danced to the music of Professor Lisiecki's string band. A plot of ground with an area of an acre and a-half was laid off as the site for a new Polish Catholic church. The four corners of the square were marked with diminutive Polish flags. In the centre a large United States flag floated from a stake 30 feet high. About 5:30 the excursionists returned.²¹

Of the seven hundred acres purchased by the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company, 120 acres, known as *Section A*, was designated for residential. The *Morning Herald* reported that nearly all of the lots were sold by the beginning of April 1894, with about thirty families occupying homes in Warsaw. *Section B* was intended for commercial interests, and the *Herald* reporter noted, "Already quite a



New Warsaw Oyster Cannery tokens: (left to right): 5 cents, reverse, and 1 dollar. (Courtesy, Russ Sears.)

portentous frame hotel has been erected. There are two saloons, a bakery and three grocery stores." The article also mentioned that two factories, the Warsaw Canning Company and the Bamboo Furniture Company, had already begun operations and that a terra cotta manufacturer in Pittsburgh was about to relocate to New Warsaw. The *Herald's* reporter stated that the "two factories already employ about 75 people, some of whom reside in Baltimore and go to and fro morning and evening over the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore road."²²

George Welzant planned to run similar excursions every other Sunday until late fall. He told the *Herald* reporter that the site would also include extensive athletic grounds in addition to the residential and industrial sections, and that the goal of the company was to establish a colony that would become a center of attraction for all of the Poles now living in Baltimore City.²³

On April 6, 1894 the General Assembly passed an act to incorporate the New Warsaw Bridge Company. The company planned to build a covered bridge from "New Warsaw to a Point on the opposite side of Back River, upon such site between the railroad bridge of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company, over Back River and the bridge of Eastern Avenue extended, over the same river." The capital stock of the Bridge Company was \$10,000, divided into two thousand shares at five dollars each. It was expected that the bridge would collect tolls to recoup the cost of construction and issue dividends to its investors.²⁴

In May a New Yorker, Leo Wysiecki, bought twelve lots on Warsaw and Sobieski Avenues.²⁵ Other than this single large purchase, the land records continued to contradict rosy newspaper reports that the colony was attracting residents. One described the elaborate celebration among Poles commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Poland's Constitution of May the Third. "Nearly six hundred persons participated" in the parade that preceded the speeches, and "hundreds of people . . . lined the sidewalks," among whom were "a number of the Polish colony at New Warsaw on Back River, and a great many Polish inhabitants of East Baltimore."²⁶ One explana-

tion might be that the Poles were renting property from landlords such as Czapka, Lisiecki, and Wysiecki, who owned more than one lot.

The newspaper reports also mentioned the prominent role George Welzant and his brother-in-law, Charles Lisiecki, a Baltimore police officer, played in the parade and celebration. "Lisiecki's band played Polish, as well as favorite American tunes." Riding in carriages in the parade were Mayor Ferdinand B. Latrobe; George W. Welzant; Fathers John Rodowicz and Joseph Skretny, of St. Stanislaus' Catholic Church; Peter Toczkowski; and Rev. Mieczysław Barabasz.²⁷

In June, Anton Kelminski of Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania, purchased a lot, and George Welzant purchased ten lots near the railroad. Welzant also secured a \$6,000 mortgage on his property through the Kosciuszko Bank for the express purpose of building an Oyster Cannery. Later that summer, among the items sent to an exhibition in Lwow, Poland [now Ukraine] was an album of Polish life in Baltimore with sixty photographs, yearbooks, and issues of *Polonia*, as well as samples from Welzant's canning factory.²⁸

Further skepticism that the colony was flourishing came from Welzant's antagonist Frank Morawski, who wrote in Cleveland's Polish language newspaper that in the Polish colony "Nowa Warszawa, . . . an enormous fever currently reigns." But, he was quick to add, the enterprise was "a true trap for the gullible, established for the purpose of prying a few pennies from the needy."²⁹

George W. Welzant appeared to be at the zenith of his power. In addition to his entrepreneurial pursuits, he was president of the St. Wojciech Society at Holy Rosary, where his brother-in-law Joseph Lisiecki was the sexton, and the Pulaski Democratic Association of the Second Ward, where his other brother-in-law, Charles Lisiecki, was treasurer. But all was not well. There were menacing indications that the effects of the severe national economic depression that had begun the previous year were about to have an impact in Baltimore and on the fortunes of New Warsaw and Welzant.

Economic historians view the "Panic" or Depression of 1893 as a turning point in American history. A hallmark of the economic downturn was the unemployment rate, which exceeded 10 percent for five or six consecutive years and the transformation of America from an agricultural to industrial society.³⁰

The first fissures in Welzant's entrepreneurial ventures occurred on October 25, 1894, when John A. Sheridan filed a bill of complaint in the circuit court against George Welzant and the other directors of the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company. Sheridan, through his lawyers, asked for the appointment of a receiver for the corporation on the grounds of alleged insolvency. In his petition to the court, Sheridan stated that the company, "induced the plaintiff to erect a house on the land, agreeing to pay him \$700 upon its completion. That after the house was built, the plaintiff demanded \$325 on his contract, which was refused, and that as he was about to file a mechanic's lien against the house, [he] was induced to accept prom-

issory notes for the amount, only \$25 which has been paid." Sheridan also alleged that Clayton Emrich, who owned the land and was not a director or stockholder, "manipulated the scheme with the purpose of defrauding the plaintiff and other creditors of the company."³¹

When questioned by a reporter for the *Baltimore Herald*, Emrich denied all of the allegations and emphasized that he was not a stockholder or involved in any way with the company. In fact, "he was not instrumental in having the company formed, nor knew of the scheme until application was made to develop the land on which new Warsaw is located." Therefore, he wasn't responsible for any of the contracts, although he did believe the company was solvent.³²

Edward Fitzgerald, the company's legal counsel, also responded to the allegations by telling reporters that the alleged insolvency of the company was not true and refuting Mr. Sheridan's claim. "There is now due only \$125, the payment of which was the result of an express understanding with Sheridan."³³ Fitzgerald also denied the allegations of fraud. In mid-November the petition was withdrawn after being amicably settled out of court. Afterward, the company announced that not only was it solvent, it had a new patent to manufacture steel and would build a plant employing several hundred men. Once again, Pittsburgh capitalists were looking over the site with the intention of building a large shoe factory that could employ two hundred Polish residents. A few weeks later Frank Lowinski purchased a lot on Warsaw Avenue for \$125.00. It would turn out to be the last lot sold in the Polish colony at New Warsaw.³⁴

Although Sheridan's complaint had been resolved, George Welzant's troubles were just beginning. On October 24 in the Superior Court a judgment was found against Welzant for a debt of \$452.87.³⁵ On November 7, Cleveland's Polish language newspaper, *Jutrzenka*, reported that Welzant's newspaper *Polonia*, "is on the verge of collapse. Its former editor Czupka . . . has collected some \$7,000 and hit the road to Chicago."³⁶ Troubles began to escalate. In May 1895, the Hamburg-American Steamship Line was granted an attachment against property George Welzant owned in New York to recover \$95.50 that was due the company. Welzant, an agent for the company in Baltimore, had collected the amount on orders issued for tickets but failed to turn the money over to the firm.³⁷

Although Welzant's and New Warsaw's fortunes may have been on the wane, the colony's initial success may have provided inspiration and a blueprint for another Baltimore businessman, Martin Wagner, who founded Wagner's Point on the shores of Curtis Bay in July 1895. Wagner was the owner of a successful cannery on Boston Street in Fells Point whose firm was in great need of expansion, but was it just a coincidence that instead he chose to build a mammoth structure at the Curtis Bay site that would begin operation as soon as the tomato and peach season opened? Wagner informed a reporter, "200 dwellings will be erected, streets laid off and the whole illuminated by electricity."³⁸ The new town, then located in Anne Arundel

TAKE NOTICE— THAT GEORGE W. WELZANT was adjudicated an insolvent debtor on the 14th day of January, A. D. 1896. The meeting of creditors will be held on the 21ST DAY OF FEBRUARY, A. D. 1896, at 3 o'clock P. M., at the office of the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, for the purpose of proving claims, propounding of interrogatories and the selection of a permanent trustee or trustees. **LOUIS B. BIRNELL**, Preliminary Trustee.

This notice appeared in the Baltimore Morning Herald, February 15, 1896.

County, would have easy access to the city because it was would be another terminus on the Curtis Bay Line of the Baltimore Traction Company. Unlike New Warsaw, the community was not intended for one ethnic group but open to anyone who wanted to work in the packing house and live in a suburb away from urban congestion.

Throughout the summer and into the fall of 1895, George Welzant continued to be involved in Polish civic organizations and democratic politics. In September it was reported that he was being urged to run for the second branch of the city council from the Second Ward. These activities, along with expanding his newspaper from a weekly to a daily, apparently led him to neglect promotion of New Warsaw.³⁹ Therefore, it came as a shock when Baltimore's newspapers reported in December:

Mr. George W. Welzant, the leader of the Polish colony in Baltimore, has been away from his home, 601 South Bond Street, for two weeks, and his wife and friends do not know where he is. Mr. Joseph Bernolack [*sic*], editor of *Polonia*, a Polish daily newspaper, of which Mr. Welzant is the proprietor, said last night: 'Some time ago it was decided to form *Polonia* into a stock company, and I went around New York, Philadelphia and other Northern cities for the purpose of getting Polish people interested in the scheme. Mr. Welzant went away for the purpose of realizing the results of my canvas. The places he was to visit were New York, Perth Amboy, Brooklyn, Long Island City and Philadelphia. Since

his arrival in New York we have had no word, either directly or indirectly from him.⁴⁰

The anxious tone of these stories quickly changed when within a few days it was reported that he had likely skipped town to avoid his creditors. Chief among those who rushed to the courts to file suit was the pastor of Holy Rosary, Rev. Mieczyslaw Barabasz, who apparently had loaned Welzant \$750 toward the proposed expansion of his newspaper. It is not clear exactly how much Welzant owed his creditors. An item in the *Washington Post* stated, "George W. Welzant, a Polish banker of Baltimore has disappeared, leaving behind debts to the amount over \$40,000."⁴¹ That may have been greatly exaggerated. The real amount he owed was probably somewhere between three and seven thousand dollars. In January his saloon, newspaper, and real estate holdings were seized and sold at auction. He was declared bankrupt.⁴²

In July 1896, Welzant's wife Jadwiga, or "Hattie," and the couple's three children quietly took a train to New York where, apparently, George had been since his flight from Baltimore. That September Jadwiga's brother, Charles Lisiecki, told reporters he had received a letter from his brother-in-law informing him that Welzant and his family were all in South Africa where he had, "opened a restaurant at Johannesburg," having "arrived a month ago. It is also announced that there is a Polish colony of about eighty families in the town. Mr. Welzant wrote that if he was successful in Johannesburg, he would return to Baltimore and discharge all his financial obligations."⁴³

In reporting his re-emergence among the Boers, the *Baltimore Morning Herald* noted:

Few men cut a wider swath in this city as a promoter than Welzant. While in his prime he was a leader among the Poles and a pillar of Holy Rosary Church. . . . He was the proprietor of a restaurant . . . manager of the *Daily Polonia*, a Polish newspaper; president of a Polish building association and bank; president of a bottling company, and president of the New Warsaw Company, an institution that founded the town of New Warsaw, in the eastern suburbs, for the purpose of advancing the general interests of the Poles. Several canning and other establishments were founded at New Warsaw, and a number of houses built, but the venture did not prove a success.⁴⁴

After Welzant's departure, Clayton Emrich moved to declare the New Warsaw Industrial and Land Company insolvent, and he was granted receivership of the company in 1897.⁴⁵

Wagner's Point may have been the chief beneficiary of the failed Polish colony at New Warsaw. On April 11, 1897, the *Sunday Herald* devoted considerable coverage to Martin Wagner's enterprise. Described as a "thriving little hamlet . . . from what only a short time since was wilderness skirting the shores of Curtis Bay has sprung a miniature town." In addition to the oyster cannery, there was an oil house, restau-

rant, and a can-cutting factory under construction. Tracks from the B&O Railroad ran to the property. Residents lived in three rows of two-story houses with a store at each corner. At present there were forty-two homes with plans to build another row of sixteen houses when the weather became warmer. Each house was equipped with gas, and the community was served by two artesian wells with a third also planned that would bring water directly into the homes. A one-room schoolhouse was located on the ground floor of a community hall that became the site for social gatherings. There was also a small waterfront park, where the residents could picnic during the summer months. The article noted that most of those employed in the cannery were, "Poles and Bohemians, and they live together in perfect harmony . . . as the remuneration is \$1 a day . . . with a nominal rent . . . they make a very comfortable living."⁴⁶ In 1907 there were enough Poles living in Wagner's Point that the Wagner family donated land and half of the building cost for the establishment of St. Adalbert Polish Catholic Church.⁴⁷

After the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company went into receivership, the Polish colony merited only occasional coverage in the local press. An unsolved possible murder in late December 1896 caused a brief stir when an unknown man's charred body was found near Warsaw, but after a few weeks passed and no arrests were made the case was soon forgotten. On August 15, 1897, an unknown woman was struck and killed by a train. She was identified the next day as Lucy Kwapiszewska, nearly ninety, who had wandered from her daughter Mrs. Agnes Lorek's home at 1822 Aliceanna Street, in Fells Point. In March of the following year another accidental death occurred when a man, who was never identified, was also struck by a Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore train near Warsaw.⁴⁸

By the summer of 1901, it was reported that New Warsaw had become the site of a pleasure resort (possibly where Welzant's cannery once stood) whose waterfront drew a crowd of mostly Czechs from northeast Baltimore every Sunday. Then, on June 23, 1901, a spectacular and deadly train accident took place on the Back River Railroad Bridge. Witnesses told reporters that because there were larger than usual crowds at Warsaw, a group of approximately eighteen Czech gymnasts and their families had taken a ferry across the river to picnic at Sappee's Shore. Lingered a little too long they missed the ferry to take them back. They worried that they would miss their train to return to the city and decided to walk across the bridge. The Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore Railroad had clearly posted, "signs on either end of the bridge warning persons not to use the bridge as a footway." Ignoring the warning signs the group began walking across the double-track bridge, around 7:30 P.M. It was about three hundred feet long and most of the group was halfway across when the first train appeared.

According to Frank Steck, a member of the group, "The people were walking in small crowds across," when Steck, "walking in the rear of the main crowd, shouted to them to look out for a freight train, which was on the same track that the people

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Advertisement in the Baltimore Sun, October 7, 1907.

were on. Owing to the noise of the approaching train no one heard his warning." Frank and two companions, along with the rest of crowd, jumped across the tracks in time, but could only watch as the freight train "plunged into the crowd . . . but owing to the great panic and confusion, the people did not see express train No. 69, northbound, headed toward them." Once again most managed to escape being hit by the express train except one woman who was struck and immediately killed. Steck and his two friends dropped "between the crossties and swung by their hands twenty feet above water."⁴⁹

Twenty-two-year-old Stanislaus Kares, who also was walking with Steck, "jumped off the bridge into a marsh with high grass, a distance of about ten feet. He severely cut the palm of both hands on some stone and was badly shaken up." His father Joseph, who "felt the bridge shaking like a train was coming," and a friend managed to get off of the bridge before the trains came but saw his friends being struck by the two trains. Although the sight made him sick, he was sure the others were killed and went back to look under the bridge for more victims. He told a reporter, "I saw what I thought was a child that had been killed, and picked it up, but it was Mr. Krob's leg."⁵⁰

In all, three people were killed, a woman and a husband and wife, as the freight and the express crossed the bridge in opposite directions nearly simultaneously. The three victims all lived on North Dallas Street and witnesses said their "bodies were horribly mangled and the tragedy created the utmost consternation in the Bohemian section of the city." Initially it was believed that many others may have been killed and their bodies thrown into the river but not recovered. At the time of the accident the tide was out and some of the group jumped into the river to avoid being hit by the trains, but they survived with minor or no injuries. After stopping to discover what they had struck, the train crew reported that "A terrified crowd of Poles and Bohemians gathered about the bridge and were with difficulty kept away from the bodies." The bodies were removed by a special train sent from Baltimore and undertaker Frank Cvach, "with a corps of assistants . . . gathered the dismembered portions of the bodies together and place them in neat black caskets. They were then removed to the . . . Bohemian Cemetery . . . [and] placed in the mausoleum to await burial."⁵¹

By 1906 though, the community had once again slipped into obscurity. To those who did not live there it was just a, "station on [the] Philadelphia Baltimore & Wilmington Rail Road."⁵² The following year this would change when the Owners Realty Company, located in Baltimore City, bought the property with plans to develop fishing shores, truck farms, chicken farms, and suburban lots that they named Chesaco Park. The following year, on October 18, 1907, the company had sold seventy-one lots to Benjamin F. Litsinger for \$1,000.

By 1908 the company had begun building houses and offering an affordable payment plan to lure city dwellers to the waterfront suburban community. On May 18 of that year, George W. Welzant died. He was forty-three years old and his death at Johns Hopkins Hospital was due to spinal meningitis.⁵³ Ironically, a month before Welzant's death the General Assembly passed an "Act to incorporate the Chesaco Park Bridge Company for the purpose of constructing a bridge at Chesaco Park, formerly New Warsaw, in Baltimore county, North East creek and Back river." This was a clear indication that the New Warsaw Bridge had never been constructed. The new company's purpose besides erecting a drawbridge over Back River would also include, "purchasing, holding, leasing, selling, mortgaging and conveying real estate."⁵⁴

CHESACO PARK

For the "Can't
Get Away Man"

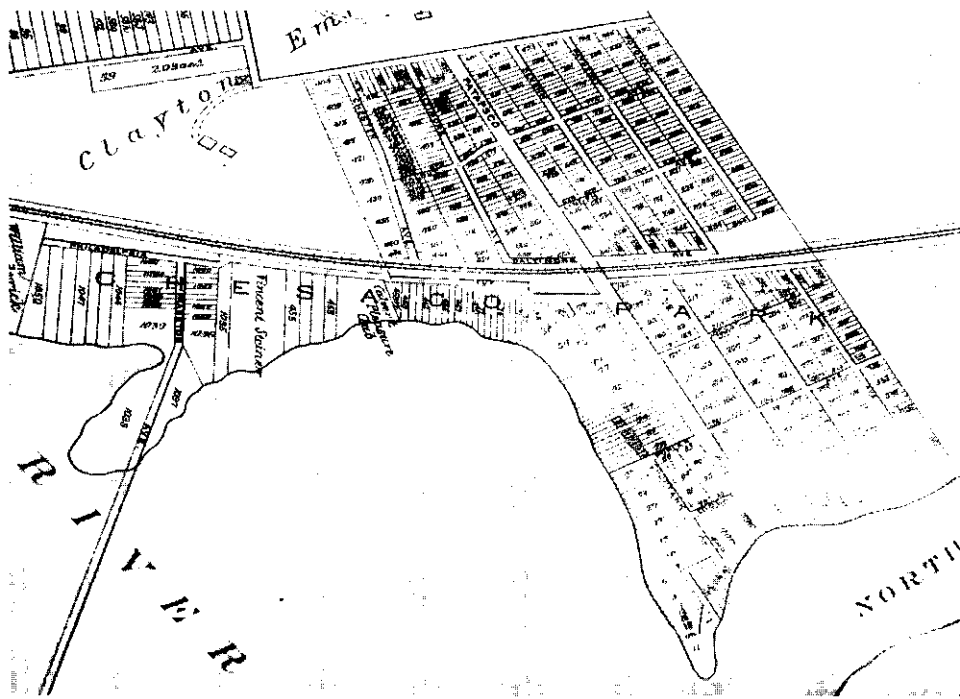


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Advertisement in the Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, July 24, 1909.

Although Chesaco Park proved to be a successful development, it rarely received any newspaper coverage and its relation to New Warsaw was noted in only a few infrequent newspaper articles. The first appeared in 1914 when two Italians



From the G.W. Bromley & Company Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1915.

armed with shotguns attempted to prevent construction of a bridge "to cross the Herring Run feedwater of Back river at Warsaw, near Chesaco Park."⁵⁵ The second, which appeared in March 1940, reported on a German couple who were about to celebrate their fifty-ninth wedding anniversary and who had lived on a farm near New Warsaw for almost fifty years. It described how in 1891 Charles Schatschneider "sold his original farm and brought another, in what was then called Warsaw, but is now known [as] Chesaco Park." His farm overlooked the heading of Back River, and he recalled:

when we came to Warsaw or now Chesaco Park, great three-masted schooners could come up the river to the heading and now you can hardly get through with a row boat. It was strictly a farming section. . . . there were few houses and they were widely scattered, and we have lived to see the district grow from almost a wilderness to a thickly populated highly developed community, with all modern conveniences, such as gas and electric lighting, water and sewage systems, paved streets, etc.

Schatschneider had purchased the old Stansbury farm that dated back to before the American Revolution. The Stansbury family cemetery was located on the property and it was believed that George Washington may have camped at the site during the Revolutionary War.⁵⁶

The last article appeared in May 1968 when, in a community profile, the *Baltimore American* described Chesaco Park as a "a friendly community." One of the long-time residents, Ida Sturtz, remembered that when she moved there in 1931 it was "a mud hole with no decent road . . . [and] only four buses a day connected the waterfront community with Baltimore." Another couple who had lived in the community for thirty years, Lester and Elizabeth Linton, did recall that Chesaco Park was, "originally a Polish community," but the name New Warsaw was never mentioned in the article.⁵⁷

The town's layout remained essentially the same with minor alterations, but the north-south streets named in honor of Polish heroes and cities were renamed (Patapsco, Potomac, Severn, Baltimore, Chester and Choptank). Those named after trees (Walnut, Linden, Locust, Popular) and Edgewater were retained.

History is full of what-ifs, and one can speculate that had it not been for the depression of 1893 New Warsaw might well have succeeded. George Welzant might have been elected to the city council. Certainly there would be no Chesaco Park. If New Warsaw had been a success, would Martin Wagner's company town at Wagner's Point been built? But the depression did occur, and today George Welzant and his Polish colony of New Warsaw have become a distant if not an entirely forgotten memory.

NOTES

1. *Polonia* is Latin for a Polish community outside of Poland.
2. *Maryland General Assembly Acts 1896*, Maryland State Archives (hereafter MSA); Roland T. Berhoff, "Southern Attitudes Towards Immigration, 1865-1914," *Journal of Southern History*, 17 (1951): 328-29.
3. Thomas L. Hollowak, *Baltimore's Polonia: A Brief History*, Baltimore: Historyk Press, 1995.
4. "Notes About Town," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, August 10, 1881, p. 4; "Baltimore Enterprise in Mississippi," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, January 1, 1890, p. 4.
5. "Where Polish Colonists Are Wanted," *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1889; "The Rev. Peter Chowaniec," *Baltimore Sun*, July 18, 1889.
6. "Sudden Death of Rev. Peter Chowaniec," *Baltimore Sun*, May 26, 1892, p. 8; "Obituary," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, May 26, 1892, p. 3. Rumors that the priest had died by his own hand surfaced quickly after his death and were reported both in Baltimore and in newspapers outside of Maryland. Was it a coincidence that Cardinal Gibbons did not attend, being indisposed? ("Buried Him With Honor," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 28, 1892; "Maimed Rites Evoke Feeling: Excitement at a Baltimore Funeral - A Dead Catholic Priest Reported to Have Died by his Own Hand - Impressive Church Ceremonies," *Charlotte [North Carolina] Observer*, May 28, 1892.
7. Thomas L. Hollowak, *The Rise of Independency among Baltimore's Polish Catholics: 1868-1898*, M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1990, 30-43.
8. Incorporation Records of Baltimore City, "New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company of Baltimore City," October 18, 1893, recorded December 22, 1893. The other four directors

were: Leonidas G. Turner and Edward W. Turner, who were realtors; William Merriken, a broker; and Edward D. Fitzgerald, a lawyer who provided legal counsel for the firm. Along with these Baltimore businessmen the investors also included Philadelphia capitalists.

9. "Real Estate Market," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, November 5, 1893, p. 7.
10. "Deaths – Mr. George W. Welzant," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 20, 1908; "Deaths," *Baltimore World*, May 20, 1908; "The Independent Church in Baltimore," *Jutrzenka*, July 25, 1894.
11. "The Independent Church in Baltimore," *Jutrzenka*, July 25, 1894.
12. "To Colonize the Poles: Philadelphians Buying of Land Near Baltimore," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, August 21, 1893.
13. "The Polish People," *Baltimore Sun*, September 5, 1893.
14. *Ibid.*
15. "Real Estate Market," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, November 5, 1893, p. 7; George W. Bromley and Walter S. Bromley, *Atlas of Baltimore County, Maryland* (Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley & Company, 1898).
16. "Real Estate Transactions – Baltimore County," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, December 30, 1893.
17. "Real Estate Gossip," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, December 3, 1893, p. 14.
18. "Real Estate Gossip," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, December 10, 1893, p. 6.
19. "Suburbs and County," *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1894, p. 6; "Suburbs and County," *Baltimore Sun*, February 10, 1894, p. 8.
20. "Real Estate – Baltimore County," *Baltimore Sun*, January 15, 1894, p. 9.
21. "The Poles New Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, April 2, 1894, p. 8.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Maryland General Assembly, *Session Laws*, 1894, chapter 596, approved April 6, 1894, 914–19, MSA.
25. Land Records – Baltimore County, Liber LMB 210, Folio 100, May 31, 1894.
26. "Patriotic Poles: They Celebrate Kosciuszko's Unsuccessful Struggle," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 4, 1894.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Land Records – Baltimore County, Liber LMB 205, Folio 371, 375; June 22, 1894; Minutes, June 4, 18, 1894, Box 1, Series V. Banking – Subseries C. Kosciuszko Permanent Loan & Saving Association, Archives of Maryland Polonia Collection, University of Baltimore (hereafter UBA); "From the Lives of Poles in America," *Dziennik Chicagoski*, July 26, 1894, translated by William F. Hoffman.
29. "The Independent Church in Baltimore," *Jutrzenka*, July 25, 1894.
30. David Whitten, "The Depression of 1893," EH.Net Encyclopedia, Edited by Robert Whaples. August 14, 2001. <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-depression-of-1893/>.
31. "The Village of New Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 26, 1894, p. 8; "Business Troubles," *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1894; "Business Troubles: Receivership Asked for the New Warsaw Land Company," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, October 26, 1894.
32. "Village of Warsaw: C. M. Emrich Denies Charges Made in the Petition Filed," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 27, 1894, p. 7.
33. "New Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 26, 1894, p. 8; "Business Troubles," *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1894; "Business Troubles," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, October 26, 1894.

34. "Application for a Receiver Dismissed," *Baltimore Sun*, November 15, 1894; "New Warsaw is Solvent," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, November 14, 1894, p. 3; Land Records – Baltimore County, Liber LMB, Folio 395; June 22, 1894.
35. "Superior Court," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 25, 1894, p. 7. Judge Ritchie presided and ruled that the judgment was by default extended under the act of 1886.
36. "Only 7,000 Dollars," *Jutrzenka*, November 7, 1894.
37. "The Hamburg-American Packet Company," *New York Times*, May 28, 1895.
38. "Another New Town," *Baltimore Sunday Morning Herald*, July 21, 1895, p. 8.
39. "Delegate to the Polish Convention," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, July 17, 1895, p. 2; "Polish Democrats' Picnic," *ibid.*, July 29, 1895, p. 8; "Poles Endorse Hurst," *ibid.*, August 16, 1895, p. 5; "Polish National Alliance," *ibid.*, September 4, 1895, p. 6; "Political Gossip: Polish Voters," *Baltimore Sun*, September 4, 1895, p. 8; "All Must Be Catholics," *St. Paul [Minnesota] Daily Globe*, September 14, 1895, p. 4. At the Polish National Alliance Convention that Welzant attended as a delegate from Baltimore, he was elected as one of the organization's national officers. "A Daily Polish Newspaper," *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1895, p. 10; "Democratic Poles," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, October 24, 1895, p. 2; "Campaign Talk," *Baltimore Sun*, November 1, 1895, p. 1.
40. "Mr. Welzant Missing: He Was Leader of the Polish Colony in Many Enterprises," *Baltimore Sun*, December 12, 1895, p. 8; "Mr. Welzant's Absence: Nothing Has Been Heard From Him for Ten Days," *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, December 12, 1895; "Versatile Man Missing," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 13, 1895, p. 1; "With Other People's Cash: Welzant, a Hustling Baltimore Business Man, Reported Missing," *Morning Times*, Washington, D.C., December 13, 1895, p. 1; "A Polish Pooh Bah Decamps: Leaving \$30,000 Worth of Liabilities and Anxious Compatriots Behind," *Norfolk Virginian*, December 13, 1895, p. 1; "Had An Eye To Business: The Leader of the Baltimore Poles Is Now Missing," *Birmingham [Alabama] Age*, December 13, 1895; "Baltimore Banker Missing: He Was Interested in Numerous Enterprises and Enjoyed the Confidence of All," *The Times*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 13, 1895, p. 1.
41. "Condensed Dispatches," *Washington Post*, December 14, 1895, p. 8.
42. "George Welzant's Effects: Sold at Public Auction Yesterday Afternoon," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, January 8, 1896, p. 9. Welzant's property in New Warsaw apparently reverted to the county commissioners of Baltimore County, this based on two real estate transactions: the first was two lots at Warsaw, Fifteenth District sold to Leo Wysiecki for \$68.78 ("Real Estate – Baltimore County," *Baltimore Sun*, December 11, 1908, p. 8); and to the Owners' Realty Company of Baltimore City, ten lots s.w.s. Krakau Ave., \$1.00 (*Baltimore Sun*, April 7, 1909, p. 8).
43. "The Last of the Welzants Disappear," *Baltimore Sun*, July 3, 1896, p. 8; "Mrs. Welzant Disappears: Believed to Have Joined Her Husband in New York," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, July 4, 1896, p. 8; "Whereabouts of Welzant: The Ex-Leader of the Polish Colony Here, Who Disappeared, Is in the Transvaal," *Baltimore Sun*, September 18, 1896, p. 10; "He's In South Africa: George Welzant Says He Will Return in Time and Pay His Debts," *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 18, 1896.
44. "He's in Johannesburg: George Welzant, of Baltimore, Trading Among the Boers – His Wife is with Him," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, September 18, 1895, p. 2. Welzant and his family returned to the U.S. in 1898 because of the impending war between the Boers and British that began the following year. The *Baltimore Morning Herald* reported on October 12, 1898 that he was in Brooklyn, New York, where he owned a hotel. The *Dziennik Chicagoski* carried a

brief item on September 5, 1899 that he had visited Baltimore and was cordially received by his friends and acquaintances from early days."

45. Circuit Court No. 2, Baltimore City, Docket 5-A, Page 181, Year 1896, Summary - 24th June 1896. Bill of Complaint and for the Appointment of a receiver and Exhibits C.M.E. Nos. 1 and 2 pd. Subpoena issued [Summoned, *Omnes*] 26th June 1896. Order of publication. Pd. Copy issued. -15th August 1896. Certificate of publication. Pd. - 3 October 1896. Decree of *pro confesso* against all the defendants and directing the examiner to take testimony - pd. (Carr) 6th April 1897, Decree of *pro confesso* against all the defendants and directing the examiner to take testimony - pd. (Carr) pf. 7 May 1897, Order of reference (Buer) pd. 12th May 1897, Report of Auditor and Master, pd. Same day, Decree setting aside Agreement. (Exhibit CME No. 1) and appointing Frances E. Pegram [Clayton Emrich's lawyer] Receiver of the New Warsaw Land and Industrial Company of Baltimore City &c. pd., MSA.

46. "Work at Wagner's Point," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, April 11, 1897, part 2, p. 14.

47. "For St. Adalbert's Church," *Baltimore Sun*, May 19, 1897, p. 9. The church was completed and dedicated on November 24, 1907 ("Cardinal at Dedication," *Baltimore Sun*, November 25, 1897, p. 12).

48. "Unsolved Murder Mysteries: Some of the Tragedies that Have Engaged the Attention of the Baltimore County Authorities - Few of the Victims Have Been Identified - Back River Has Been Witness to Many of Them - A Ghastly Find in the Woods," *Baltimore Sunday Herald*, January 3, 1897, p. 14; "Unknown Woman Killed on the Rail," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, August 16, 1897, p. 9; "Woman's Body Identified," *Baltimore Sun*, August 17, 1897, p. 7; "Killed Near Warsaw," *Baltimore Morning Herald*, March 10, 1898, p. 3.

49. Ibid., "Death Due to Their Own Negligence: Verdict of the Jury of Inquest in the Tragedy at Back River - Company Exonerated," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 25, 1901, p. 11; "Sad End," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 24, 1901, p. 1.

50. "Crushed by a Train," *Baltimore Sun*, June 24, 1901, p. 12.

51. Ibid.; "Sad End of a Pleasure Trip," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, June 24, 1901, p. 1; "Crushed by a Train"; "Death Due to Their Own Negligence."

52. The *Maryland Gazetteer*, 1906-1907, "The Cities, Villages, and Post Offices of the State..."

53. "Real Estate - Baltimore County," *Baltimore Sun*, October 18, 1907, p. 8; Davidson, Isabel, "History of Essex - Past and Present, 1750-1908," *Real Stories from Baltimore County History*, Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Tradition Press, 1967; "Deaths - Mr. George W. Welzant," *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, May 20, 1908; "Deaths," *Baltimore World*, May 20, 1908.

54. "Private Acts - Chapter 618," *Archives of Maryland*, Volume 483, 1908, p. 1467, MSA.

55. "Land Held With Guns: Two Countians Refuse to Permit Bridge Work, Ignore Railroad Injunction - Sheriff to Advance Toward Back River Head Today to Enforce Court's Order," *Baltimore Sun*, November 26, 1914, p. 10.

56. "Chesaco Park Couple Celebrate 59th Wedding Anniversary in Historic Farm Home," *Jeffersonian* [Towson, Maryland], March 15, 1940.

57. "A Friendly Neighborhood - Community Located on Back River," *Baltimore American*, May 4, 1968.



The tombstone marking the grave of Paul Placide, New Cathedral Cemetery, Baltimore, Md. (Photograph by James Singewald, Maryland Historical Society.)

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The Case of the Catholic Know-Nothings

TRACY MATTHEW MELTON

On a dewy Halloween morning in 2011, I roamed among the fallen leaves and stone markers in New Cathedral Cemetery. My presence in the West Baltimore cemetery owed not to any All Hallow's mischief; rather it arose from my historical research on Irish Catholicism. I was cataloguing Irish symbols and references on the grave markers in the older sections of the cemetery. Suddenly a familiar name looked up from a broken gravestone in the grass. I halted mid-step and silently asked, "Paul Placide, what are you doing here?"

By 2011, my acquaintance with Paul D. Placide traced back almost two decades, to when I had begun to research the rowdy clubs that had generated unprecedented levels of violence on Baltimore streets in the 1850s. That research had resulted in a book, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*. Contemporary newspaper stories linked Placide to Henry Gambrill, James Morgan, Joseph Creamer, and Ras Levy—infamous members of the Plug Uglies, Rip Raps, and Regulators. Those clubs lorded over their neighborhood streets and developed alliances with local party politicians who could offer patronage and protection in exchange for their muscle at meetings and conventions, and at the polls. Scores of men died in the resulting political violence. Placide himself had gained national notoriety when Democratic newspaper publisher Henry M. Fitzhugh shot and wounded him after Placide and some associates attacked Fitzhugh's office in retaliation for an offending story about their exploits. My surprise at finding Placide in New Cathedral, among so many deceased Irish Catholic refugees of the Great Famine, and their children and grandchildren, traced to his Plug Ugly associates' affiliation with the American Party. They were avowedly anti-foreign, anti-Catholic Know-Nothings. How had this Know-Nothing come to rest in a Catholic cemetery?

Two days later, the Placide question gained momentum in my thoughts when I came across a grave marker for James Morgan, who had died in December 1894. A

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Pennsylvania Avenue, 1837. (Lithograph, Moses Swett, Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society.)

James Morgan, together with John R. English, had put together the Plug Uglies and had continued to work as a cigar maker in the same Baltimore neighborhood into the 1890s. Was this New Cathedral James Morgan the Plug Ugly James Morgan? Now there were perhaps two Know-Nothings whom I had written about buried in New Cathedral. That would possibly make three Catholic Know-Nothings among the same rowdy crowd. As I had noted in *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, Peter Corrie, a participant in perhaps the most sensational Know-Nothing homicide of the era, was, oddly enough, the son of a local family with strong Catholic ties. When I had opportunity, I began investigating the mystery of the Catholic Know-Nothings. Who were the Catholic Know-Nothings? Why were they Catholic Know-Nothings? Eventually the pursuit of answers to these questions led to some larger ones: What do their lives reveal about nineteenth-century Baltimore? What does the pursuit of their lives reveal about writing history?

Research quickly opened a remarkable window into "Plug Ugly" Peter Corrie's respectable upbringing and Catholic ties. His family resided on Hanover Street, directly across from the Hanover Market and just a couple of blocks west of the Basin (Inner Harbor). His father James Corrie had emigrated from Dumfries, Scotland, early in the nineteenth century and settled in Baltimore, where he worked as a carpenter and building contractor. Most notably, he worked on the landmark Battle Monument on Calvert Street, which commemorated victory over the British in 1814. James and his wife Catherine (Ely) raised eleven children in their bustling waterfront neighborhood. James was much older than Catherine, his second wife,

Peter Corrie, as pictured in the National Police Gazette, April 9, 1859. (Courtesy, Wayne R. Schaumburg.)



and turned seventy in the mid-1830s. The aging builder and his wife opened a tavern in their house around this time, and she eventually took charge of it. In 1844, the *Sun*, giving some sense of the working nature of their harbor-front neighborhood, reported that a runaway horse and cart belonging to a butcher at the market “tore away the awning posts and awning before the tavern of Mrs. Corrie, and those before the barber’s shop adjoining.” In those decades, respectable married and widowed Baltimore women like Catherine Corrie often worked in household taverns, shops, and boarding houses, or sold produce and other goods in local markets.¹

Peter Corrie, like many other antebellum Baltimore children, lived not only within a large nuclear family but also within a large extended one. The Corries most closely associated and worked with the Gill family, which resided a little farther up Hanover Street. Bryson Gill had moved to Baltimore a few years after James Corrie and had married a second time to Catherine’s sister Teresa (Ely). In the 1820s, Bryson worked first as a turner and then as a furniture maker, his Hanover Street firm advertising fancy chairs and cabinets. He also practiced dentistry and eventually gave up furniture making for a medical practice that offered leeching, bleeding, cupping, and dentistry and retailed European and American leeches. Teresa Gill, like her sister Catherine, worked with her husband. Margaret J. Mettee, another Ely sister, offered cupping and leeching at the same location shortly after Bryson and Teresa moved over to Sharp Street in 1846. The Gills’ sons also took up dentistry and dental surgery. James Corrie Jr. learned the same trade from his uncle, aunt, and cousins. A gathering revolution would remake the medical profession during this century and the next, with Baltimore dentists and doctors especially important contributors to the process, but young men like James Corrie could still learn surgery in Bryson Gill’s small office.²



Mother Mary Jerome Ely. (Courtesy, Archives, Sisters of Charity of New York.)

After James Corrie Sr. died in October 1849, his widow Catherine and youngest children Lavinia and George, together with the oldest Corrie daughter Margaret (Dunlap), moved into the Gill household. Catherine later moved over to German (Redwood) Street. The Corrie children followed respectable trades, often learned from family members. James Corrie Jr. learned dentistry and medicine in the Gills' office. Peter Corrie, the ninth child, lived with his older sister Theresa ("Tressie"), and worked for her husband George H. Wilson, a butcher on Pennsylvania Avenue in the northwest corner of the city. A decade after her husband's death, Catherine claimed that he had left her with eleven children but "with means to maintain and educate them." "Under the providence of God," she continued, "I have done for them the best I could." Her youngest son George had by that time died at only fifteen years old, but she felt proud of the remaining ten children, "six of them respectably married, and now, with their families, located in different parts of the Union."³

The family had extensive ties to the Catholic Church establishment. Catherine and Teresa's sister Mary had been received into Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton's Sisters of Charity in Emmitsburg. She had gone to New York and eventually become superior of the New York Sisters of Charity. During the 1840s and 1850s, Mother Mary Jerome Ely headed the Academy of Mount St. Vincent. Archbishop John Hughes deeply involved himself in the Sisters of Charity's affairs, and his successor, Cardinal John McCloskey, had a close relationship with the Ely sister. "Cardinal McCloskey had a warm friendship for the venerable Sister of Charity, and often visited her, appreciating her gifts of intellect, her energy, and the schemes of benevolence and education which she was active in planning." One niece was also a member of the convent, and Lavinia, the fun-loving youngest Corrie child, attended Mount St. Vincent for four years during the early 1850s. While there, she sometimes would "dance down

Lavinia Marie Corrie Gary, 1856. (Lillian Gary Memories, c.1943, Accession # 5231-f, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.)



the halls singing, 'I won't be a nun/I'll never be a nun/I'm too fond of pleasure/I'll never be a nun.'" Lavinia's older sister Tressie, butcher George H. Wilson's wife, "was a devout Catholic" who regularly attended services at the Baltimore Cathedral. Their cousin Eli A. Gill would head the Cathedral's Gregorian choir.⁴

Lavinia's marriage also suggested that Catherine Corrie and her children had a respectable reputation. James Albert Gary took an interest in Lavinia. He was the son of wealthy Maryland manufacturer James S. Gary, who owned a substantial cotton textile mill at Alberton (formerly Elysville, later Daniels), west of Baltimore on the Patapsco River. Their daughter Lillian later described their 1856 engagement:

Father had to go on a Southern trip, to buy cotton I suppose. He was spending his last evening with Mother. There was another man in the parlor, and Mother was singing, and paying Father but scant attention. He outstayed his rival, + said to Mother, 'Tomorrow morning I take an early train for the South, you will marry me, and go with me, or I will never see you again.' Mother said no use explaining, he meant it. I went upstairs, awakened mother, electrified her by saying 'I am going to marry Albert Gary tomorrow morning, and go South with him.'

Albert Gary and Lavinia Corrie married in November 1856. Within a few years, the couple was living on Lombard Street with several small children and summering at a Gary family country estate, the Meadows, outside Baltimore.⁵

Catherine Corrie's youngest boys George and Peter had more tragic lives. George, the youngest, died in April 1857. According to Lillian, "They were devoted playmates,



Officer Robert Rigdon. National Police Gazette, April 16, 1859. (Courtesy, Wayne R. Schaumburg.)

mother + her Brother.” The family held the boy’s funeral at Catherine’s residence at 177 German Street. By this time, Peter Corrie had spent several years as a butcher, working just blocks away on Pennsylvania Avenue. He had been away from the city for a while but had recently returned. The Avenue, where it entered the city, was home to extensive butchering operations. It ran out to the rich Maryland and Pennsylvania farmland northwest of the city, providing neighborhood butchers a ready supply of cattle and livestock. Yet the location on the city’s outskirts kept the foul smells and objectionable waste of their operations a little removed from more crowded neighborhoods. Local butchers knew Peter Corrie as a familiar figure around their Pennsylvania Avenue slaughterhouses over most of the 1850s.⁶

On September 22, 1858, Benjamin Benton, a police officer, died from a gunshot wound to the head while attempting, with other officers, to haul several Plug Uglies to the station house. Police took Henry Gambrill, a Plug Ugly who had grown up in the neighborhood, into custody. That November, a jury convicted Gambrill of first-degree murder for the crime. The conviction rested largely on Officer Robert M. Rigdon’s testimony that he saw Gambrill fire the fatal shot. That same evening, an assassin shot Rigdon down as he leaned against the fireplace mantle in his house. Immediately after the shot, Corrie ran from the alley adjoining Rigdon’s house. Rip Rap Marion Cropp was right behind him. Officers and neighborhood residents attracted by the shot grabbed Corrie. They battered and bloodied him, and a shot fired point-blank at Corrie’s head put a pistol ball through his cap. Rigdon lived on Baltimore Street, very close to 177 German, where Dr. James Corrie lived with his family, including his mother Catherine. James Corrie later described hearing the shot that killed Rigdon. He was:

at home the night of the death of Rigdon; was sitting in the farthest room back of his house, reading the Bible to his wife, when he heard several shots; ran to the door, his wife behind him; when his foot touched the pavement saw an officer turn the southwest corner of Penn and German streets, going down Penn street; witness ran on in the same direction without hat or coat, just before he got to the corner he heard another report of a pistol from Penn street . . . he saw a man with two or three officers; when within ten feet of him he recognized his brother as he raised his head, he was then bleeding.⁷

Police soon after arrested Marion Cropp, and both Corrie and Cropp faced charges of murdering Rigdon. Newspapers closely covered Rigdon's sensational murder and directly linked it to the crisis of violence that accompanied the surging influence of the political clubs. They also painted Peter Corrie as a Plug Ugly. Catherine Corrie responded in a letter to *New York Herald* publisher James Gordon Bennett, the same letter in which she defended her parenting and her children's character. "You would not intentionally add to the miserable suffering of an afflicted family," she appealed to Bennett, "upon whom a heavy calamity has unexpectedly fallen." She called reports that Peter was a dissipated drunk and a member of the Plug Uglies "utterly erroneous." She sought nothing less than to save her son's life: "All I desire is that he may not be hurried to an ignominious death through the instrumentality of statements having no foundation in fact, and seriously calculated to mislead and influence the public mind."⁸

Corrie's involvement in such a heinous act was somewhat anomalous. Unlike Cropp, he had not been among the well-known young rowdies publicly connected to the city's political clubs. But Corrie had lived on or near Pennsylvania Avenue for most of a decade. Some witnesses at his trial asserted that he had chummed around with the Plug Ugly crowd, although the motivation for their testimony was suspect. Statements attributed to Corrie suggested that his involvement might have traced to his personal feelings for his neighborhood friend Henry Gambrill. Earlier on the night of Rigdon's murder, a drunken Corrie had met Rigdon on the street and said, "By God, Gambrill is an innocent man." Perhaps referring to the Plug Uglies, Corrie told another man, "His friends say what they will do, but I will do more than any of them." Feelings of friendship and some alcohol-fueled courage, and perhaps some manipulation and duplicity, had seemingly compelled him into a violent conspiracy at odds with his previous peaceful behavior. In January, a jury found Corrie and Cropp guilty of first-degree murder. They would take their place alongside Henry Gambrill on the gallows.⁹

During the weeks leading up to their execution, Corrie received spiritual guidance from Rev. Thomas Foley. Reverend Foley, the son of a proud Irish Catholic immigrant, was a prominent member of the local Catholic clergy. He would later serve as coadjutor bishop of Chicago. Peter Corrie's own religious beliefs and practices

are not knowable, but Foley was a natural spiritual advisor for the son of a devout Catholic mother and nephew of Mother Mary Jerome Ely. Foley was close to Madge Preston, the wife of Peter's lawyer William P. Preston, a family friend, and certainly to Peter's sister Tressie, with whom the condemned man had lived on Pennsylvania Avenue. Tressie would have known Foley from the Cathedral, where she worshipped. On April 8, Gambrill, Cropp, and Corrie, together with another man convicted of an unrelated murder, died on the gallows. Corrie's funeral "took place privately from his brother's residence, German street. . . . Rev. Mr. Foley, his spiritual advisor while in prison, officiated, and none but the intimate friends of the family accompanied the remains to their last resting place in the Cathedral burying ground." Catherine Corrie moved in with her son Daniel in Richmond, perhaps to remove herself from the shadow of her son's ignominious death.¹⁰

Catherine returned to Baltimore and moved in with her daughter Lavinia W. Gary's family. In 1872, the Gary family moved from Lombard Street to a splendid Bolton Hill mansion at the corner of Linden Avenue and Dolphin Street. Lavinia's daughter Lillian later wrote of Catherine, "Grandmother came to live with us, she was always in the garden, + busy with flowers. I always associate flowers with her." Albert Gary built a conservatory for Catherine's flowers. When she died in February 1876, "Her coffin stood in the parlor, with pots of calla-lilies brought down from her conservatory to be near her. It was in March [*sic*] and the lilies were blooming." Catholic priests celebrated a requiem mass at the Church of the Immaculate Conception.¹¹

Quests can be winding and unpredictable, with false turns and dead ends. Research into Peter Corrie's Catholicism suddenly opened up a wide vista on nineteenth-century Baltimore. Unfortunately, research on Plug Ugly James Morgan was less fruitful, though the effort generated an enhanced understanding of the local landscape. Historical and genealogical researchers have a much easier task when working with family names like Corrie and Placide than more common ones like Morgan. Two Placide families lived in the United States in this decade, one in Baltimore and one in New Orleans. In contrast, how many Morgan families would a historian find? How many Morgan males would have the common male name James? In fact, several James Morgans lived in Baltimore during the last half of the nineteenth century. Unraveling their identities became an exercise akin to putting together a jigsaw puzzle or solving a Sudoku puzzle, where one piece, or one number, can suddenly make sense of an entire image, or a whole pattern of numbers.

In the mid-1850s, Plug Ugly James Morgan, together with John English and a couple of other disgruntled New Market Company firemen, carried enough weight on the streets to attract a following around Pennsylvania Avenue. As early as 1850, witnesses implicated Morgan in the murder of a fire company rival. A party of New Market firemen gunned down their rival at the intersection of Hanover and Lombard Streets, where, coincidentally, Bryson Gill and his family had long practiced dentistry

"Mrs. Gary with her sister Aunt Tressie and granddaughter and namesake Lavinia James on the porch of the Summit," undated. (Lillian Gary Memories, University of Virginia.)



and medicine. After the Mount Vernon Hook-and-Ladder Company established a house on Biddle Street between Pennsylvania Avenue and Ross Street (Druid Hill Avenue) in 1854, Morgan, English, and a few fellow rowdies joined the company and entered a bitter rivalry with their old New Market associates. In English's tavern adjacent to the Mount Vernon house, they claimed the nickname "Plug Uglies."¹²

Research in census records, city directories, newspaper articles, obituaries, and death certificates established that several James Morgans lived in Baltimore during the 1850s and the decades following. The record showed that the James Morgan in New Cathedral was not Plug Ugly James Morgan. New Cathedral James Morgan was instead an Irish Famine immigrant from County Louth. In Baltimore, he worked for more than four decades as a stonemason, and, with his wife Mary, raised several children. Mary Morgan kept a grocery at the family's house on Forrest Street in Old Town. Like so many other Irish Catholic famine refugees settling in Baltimore, they had been buried in New Cathedral. If this was not Plug Ugly James Morgan, could I confirm that the Know-Nothing rowdy was an American-born Protestant, as one might expect? The task proved difficult. Not surprisingly, the name turned up often in the sources. Fortunately, I had a trade—cigar making—and knew where he lived in the 1850s.

My puzzle solving showed that Plug Ugly James Morgan continued to live in Baltimore for decades after the Civil War. Through the war and the years immediately after, he appears in city directories as living on Ross (Druid Hill) and working

as a boatman at the Baltimore City Yard. The job was a patronage position, which demonstrated some lingering political influence. He and his wife Eliza moved to nearby Oxford Street and later to Myrtle Street and then Argyle Avenue, all in the same neighborhood. He occasionally held patronage positions, though city directories and census pages generally show him as a cigar maker. James and Eliza had no children, at least none surviving long enough to appear in the census record. Eliza contributed to the family's income. In their house, she kept a shop that different city directories describe as a confectionary, grocery, and variety store. In July 1893, a Baltimore County doctor removed a pistol ball from James's arm. "The ball had lodged under the tendons of the arm and had caused the fingers to contract, so that Mr. Morgan could not work at his trade of cigar-making." He had received it almost four decades earlier in a Know-Nothing street fight. About this time, James and Eliza disappear from the public record. No Baltimore death certificate was found. Census records show James was a native Marylander, but his religious affiliation could not be determined.¹³

If Plug Ugly James Morgan's subsequent decades in his Pennsylvania Avenue neighborhood left little record, Paul Placide's much briefer life resulted in one remarkable collection, which revealed the most intimate details of his personal life. Placide gained notoriety among the political rowdies in the city in the 1850s. As early as 1855 he faced charges for fracturing a watchman's skull with a billy club. The following year, police arrested Placide and Henry Gambrill for beating a man in a house on Pennsylvania Avenue. Over the next three years, an officer arrested Placide for drawing a gun and attempting to shoot the police, and newspaper reports linked Placide to well-known American Party rowdies. A party that included Placide allegedly wrecked the *Republican* newspaper office. Reports claimed his involvement in an attack on the *Exchange* newspaper in 1858 and again in 1859. After the last attack, proprietor Henry M. Fitzhugh shot Placide when the rowdy came onto an omnibus after him. "The ball entered at the wrist and came out near the elbow." Placide later described it as "a pretty close call." He was among those tried for "cooping" voters at Ras Levy's Holliday Street tavern in 1859, the year the Plug Uglies nominated his father Henry S. Placide as their candidate for the First Branch in the Twentieth Ward. Police arrested Paul for rioting at the polls. As late as July 1861, newspapers reported him in an especially bruising fight on Holliday Street, which stemmed from differing views on the sectional conflict.¹⁴

Placide's Baltimore roots went back to the French Revolution, when his grandfather Paul Placide fled Bordeaux and his grandmother Louisa Duvernois fled Paris for America. Paul came from a Huguenot family, and the young French émigrés married at the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore in 1797. Paul Placide, the grandfather, long conducted a cooperage on Buchanan's wharf, at the foot of Frederick Street. Louisa died in 1818 and Paul in 1829. Their son Henry S. Placide, born in Baltimore in 1800, took over the cooperage and married Susan Eliza Smith

Daly. Susan was originally from Virginia and claimed to be a descendant of Pocahontas. The couple long attended Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church South. They had several children, including Paul D. Placide. The family moved to Madison Avenue in the mid-1850s and remained there for many decades. They would eventually live in a spacious house at 319 (renumbered 1300) Madison, on the corner of Lanvale Street. The initial move to Madison Avenue, at number 251, had put Paul Placide, then about twenty-one, among the Plug Uglies.¹⁵

In August 1862, Placide enlisted for three years as a private in Company I of the Fourth Maryland Infantry Regiment. Other well-known American Party politicians and rowdies served in this Union regiment. Rip Rap leader Gregory Barrett Jr. had joined the regiment as a captain only a few days before. Barrett, the son of Irish immigrants, lived on the same side of town as Henry Gambrill, James Morgan, and Paul Placide. His neighborhood associations apparently had more influence in shaping his politics than his family background. Barrett established himself as a leading American Party operative in the closing years of the 1850s. "Young, strong and an athlete," one associate later described him, recalling those years, "with an unlimited amount of physical courage, he was a man whom men loved to follow, even then." Plug Ugly Louis A. Carl joined as a captain a few weeks later and would command Placide's Company I. Baltimore Americans (Know-Nothings) tended to support the Union, although personal opinions and circumstances sometimes resulted in Confederate loyalties. The Placide house on Madison Avenue itself was a divided one. Paul's brother Robert served in the Confederate First Maryland Cavalry. Their mother Susan was, after all, a Virginia native.¹⁶

Paul Placide spent much of the war in Baltimore and Washington, partly on medical leave and partly as a deserter. In January 1863, he was admitted to the army hospital at Steuart's mansion (Jarvis Hospital) in Baltimore with chronic diarrhea. He apparently took the opportunity to visit with family and friends. On February 5, Surgeon H. E. Goodman reported him as a deserter, but a few weeks later the report was corrected. Ironically, he had been absent from the hospital because of "sickness" and had instead been at his family's house at 255 Madison. Placide remained at the hospital but went missing again a few months later. Provost marshal police arrested him in Washington in September. He escaped but was arrested again in the capital the following month and taken back to the hospital where he remained under custody. That December, Capt. Louis A. Carl, the old Plug Ugly, intervened on behalf of his soldier and old political friend. Carl wrote Gen. John R. Kenly requesting that Placide "be restored to his Company for duty, he being willing to pay the apprehension fee of Thirty Dollars." He was restored, and, during the last year of the war, his military career took a more auspicious turn. In August 1864, Placide received promotion to sergeant and two months later to sergeant major. That November, on regimental commander Col. Richard N. Bowerman's recommendation, the army commissioned him as a first lieutenant in the same company.¹⁷

Recollections of Placide's service describe a powerful, bold man, given to drinking, but plagued by illness. "When he stripped for admission to service," a hospital steward recalled, "he was a strong looking muscular man." The steward had known him by reputation: "He was a tough character. He was a shooter. He was a drinker, but I could not say that he was a drunkard." One soldier, an old friend who had gone to school with him, later stated, "I do know that Placide drank very heavy during our service. He used to carouse about at night." Another claimed, "My watch was stolen, and I afterwards found that Placide had pawned it at Harper's Ferry for whisky. He was dissipated during service, and was a very wild tough man." Colonel Bowerman generally agreed but was less condemnatory: "Placide was a dissipated man before service, and during service he was a little wild and at time dissipated, but not much out of the usual run." During the Union raid on the Weldon Railroad in December 1864, Bowerman placed Placide in command of the "flankers." On the march, the colonel learned that "Placide's boots had given out, and that with bleeding feet he was marching in the snow." He had him taken away in an ambulance. Placide mustered out in May 1865.¹⁸

After the war, Placide resumed his political activities in Baltimore. During the 1866 campaign season, he involved himself with Conservatives contending with Radicals for control of Maryland politics. Among the Conservatives were former Union soldiers and sailors who aligned themselves with President Andrew Johnson's policies and against those of Radical Republicans. In September, they organized a mass meeting in support of the National Union Convention held in Philadelphia a few weeks earlier. Baltimore organizers included prominent politicians and military officers and Fourth Regiment officers like Richard N. Bowerman, Louis Carl, and Paul Placide. Besides Carl and Placide, former Plug Uglies James Wardell and Wesley Woodward also participated in the movement.¹⁹

An incredibly rich source reveals a great deal about his private affairs during these years. Paul Placide married Louisa E. Hartjens [Hartgens], and within a few years the couple had four children. The marriage would give Louisa a widow's claim on his pension following his death. Her pension claim, and the controversy surrounding it, generated numerous affidavits and depositions from doctors, friends, and family members who could testify regarding the impact of his service on his health, and her right to the pension. Ulterior motivations shaped much of the testimony—some deponents supported her claim, others opposed it—but, sifting through it, much of Placide's private life comes into focus.

Paul was acquainted with Louisa's mother and father before the war, when she was just a young girl. Her parents, Christopher and Mary, were German immigrants. The couple had kept a series of groceries on the west side of town, including on Pennsylvania Avenue, and then had run a series of taverns in the same neighborhood. Mary eventually provided two depositions in Louisa's pension case, asserting in both that Paul had been healthy before the war and sick after. "She and her husband

kept a large Restaurant and eating house on Fayette Street opposite McClellan's Alley Baltimore Md," a clerk recorded, "and Paul Placide was an almost daily visitor to the house, frequently taking his meals there, very intimate with him." Louisa had been born in January 1852 and was only ten when Paul enlisted. Paul came by during the war, and after as well. Louisa did not remember knowing him until the summer of 1867: "My first acquaintance with him was 11 months before I married him. I went away with Mr. Placide to Philadelphia and was married there July 10/68, to him, by an Alderman." According to Louisa, "Mother knew him well, long before I ever had an idea of marrying him. He was much older than me, + I had no idea then that he would ever marry me."²⁰

Paul's burial in New Cathedral resulted from this event. "On our return, my father who was a devout Catholic was not satisfied with that, + we were again married by Father [Thomas] Foley, at the Cathedral in this City, February 17, 1869." Reverend Foley was the same Catholic priest who had acted as Peter Corrie's spiritual advisor. At the cathedral, Foley baptized their first two sons, Henry Hartjens and Charles Jennings, and Rev. John Dougherty the third son William Stirling. Redemptorist Reverend Adam Petri baptized the youngest child, a daughter, Louisa Dorothea ("Lula") at St. Alphonsus' Church. The oldest boy, known as Harry, was born in March 1869 and Lula in September 1874. Paul himself converted to Catholicism. "As Paul died a convert to the Cath[olic] Church," Louisa averred, "Paul wanted to [be] buried from the Cathedral."²¹

Louisa's nationality and religion caused a rift within the Placide family. According to a family chambermaid, "Mr. Placide's people hated Mrs. P. because she was German." Louisa later claimed that Paul's mother "had warned me that she would make me suffer for having induced him to be a Catholic." After his death, "Both she + Mrs. Dunleavy [Dunlevy] refused to go to the funeral + said they wouldn't step foot in the place [the Cathedral]." Mrs. Dunlevy was Paul's sister Louisa. His other sister, Susan, displayed great disdain for Louisa E. Placide when brought into the pension case. The special pension examiner recorded, "The witness here refused to answer further or to sign this statement . . . saying she would have nothing to do with it, that she didn't care anything about it, and had nothing to do with the parties concerned."²²

Paul worked at a series of patronage jobs and eventually took over the family cooperage. His family's prominence and political experience gave him an acquaintance with numerous Baltimore politicians. His wife Louisa summed up his patronage career. Before their marriage, he was lobbying for a place at the Custom House, the prime source of federal jobs, and got one after. "When he lost that as different men went in, he became weighing clerk at Tobacco Warehouse No. 5, + then at No. 2, + after that he was U.S. Gauger." His brother Henry had long held the appointment as gauger of liquors, in addition to running the family cooperage, but he died in October 1870. Paul got his position as gauger the next week. Paul also partnered with

his brothers Jennings and Robert in the Placide cooperage. His landlord described Paul's work in these years. "He was employed as a watchman for the Custom House, principally watching vessels. He was a night watchman. I used to say to him, 'Paul you are in no condition to go out,' + he would reply that he had to make a living for his family." When asked how long Paul worked, Louisa replied, "Until he died. He crawled there, when he wasn't able to go."²³

These descriptions hint at Paul's horrible physical distress in these years. He had gastrointestinal and lung ailments. Everyone commented on a severe cough that had developed at least by the Civil War. The Placides' chambermaid reported, "Mr. Placide's water was always cloudy. It had a red settlement in it. It used to stain the bottom of the vessel because I had to use ashes to clean it." John T. Clark had been a friend before the war and knew Paul after. "I frequently saw him make water, and it was very red, and was full of what looked like brick dust." Louisa recalled his diarrhea, a condition that had plagued him during the war. "He had diarrhea all the time, from the time we were married. It was a great annoyance to me. He would have those spells come on him, + soil his clothes without knowing." For relief, he attempted many remedies. During the war, a hospital steward had made belladonna plasters for his chest and witnessed Paul using "chloride of potash gargles, and such things." His mother-in-law said he relied on patent medicines and prescriptions from a doctor. A landlady made syrups for his cough. When he died in November 1875, his death certificate listed consumption (tuberculosis) as the cause of death.²⁴

The nature of Paul's illness and the date he contracted it were important questions in the investigation of Louisa's pension claim. Did he contract it during the war? Was it caused by his service? Witnesses provided widely divergent descriptions of his health before the war and the harshness of conditions he faced in the field. One aspect of the question was the health of his family. The Placides faced a devastating number of deaths within a few years of Paul's. One doctor stated that he knew the Placides in a general way and had "always understood that several of the family died of consumption, which was a family taint." During the pension investigation, Louisa reflected, "Very few remain. Seems like when death comes, it slips right through them."²⁵

Another important question was Louisa's marital status. If she had remarried, her right to the pension would have been forfeited. Testimony suggested that she had married George H. Fulton soon after Paul's death and had later lived with another man as his common-law wife. She denied the marriage and explained that she had met Fulton six months before Paul's death, and he started coming by her house a few months afterward. "My first relation with Mr. Fulton was about 6 months after the death of Mr. Placide. Mr. Fulton, myself, and two other couples went from my house to a house about 4 squares away and had supper and wine and from there we returned to my house and the next morning I found that I had staid all night in my room with Mr. Fulton." Two months later, she realized she was in a "delicate condi-

tion." She sent for Fulton, so "I might protect my name and my children." They agreed to live together as man and wife, and in 1880 the census taker found them living together on Argyle Avenue with the four Placide children and their toddler daughter Somerville Fulton. Supporting her assertion that they had not officially married, the census records her last name as Placide. Louisa would eventually separate from Fulton, who reportedly drank heavily and was abusive. Because of the circumstances, Somerville went to live with Fulton's sister and brother-in-law.²⁶

Louisa's pension case generated a great deal of controversy, partially because of the issues involved and partially because it became entwined in a Bureau of Pensions investigation of her lawyer Charles E. Garitee. The special examination division was actively involved in "breaking up the systematically fraudulent practices of attorneys who have been named and others of their class, by which the Government has been robbed." Garitee was a target of the division. He had been a special investigator in it but had lost his commission "for acts unbecoming the service of the United States." During Louisa's pension case, the U.S. Interior Department disbarred him. He faced numerous trials for using "stool pigeons" to swear falsely on pension applications and collecting improper fees from his clients. In Louisa's case, she not only had to tell her most private affairs to federal investigators but also in the courtroom. Several of the cases resulted in juries that could not agree but seemed weighted toward conviction. The Baltimore Supreme Bench disbarred Garitee. Eventually, after years of investigation, Louisa received Paul's pension. She lived in Baltimore for decades, earning additional income by taking in boarders, and died in Baltimore County in December 1927, having survived Paul by fifty-two years.²⁷

I had set out to find why Peter Corrie, Paul Placide, and perhaps James Morgan, despite their apparent Catholicism, had participated in the Know-Nothing violence of 1850s Baltimore. The answer, for Corrie and Placide, seems rooted in their personal lives and in the family and friendship networks that they inherited and constructed. Political ideology and religious conviction exist within a distinct social geography—the masculine culture emerging in antebellum Baltimore and other American cities, where young men with little formal education often lived and worked, and drank and caroused, with large numbers of neighborhood friends and associates over many years before marriage. The friendships and antipathies that developed sometimes led them to acts and decisions that had little apparent motivation in ideas or personal faith. Peter Corrie did not end up on the gallows because of his political or religious beliefs but because of his personal relationships on Pennsylvania Avenue. While Paul Placide's own beliefs cannot be precisely determined, his most notorious political violence followed a public affront to his personal honor, and his conversion to Catholicism certainly followed his romantic interest in a desirable young woman "who induced him to be a Catholic." The personal mattered; relationships mattered.

But my research on this question revealed much more. Respectability counted for much among these Baltimoreans. It comes across in Catherine Corrie's letter to

newspaper publisher James Gordon Bennett. It is even evident in the almost complete absence of references to the executions of Henry Gambrill and Peter Corrie in public discourse in Baltimore in subsequent years. They were sons of respectable families; their executions were unfortunate; and such unpleasantries were better not dwelt upon. Newspapers and historical accounts largely ignored the executions. Even in Lillian Gary Taylor's memoirs, she described reaction to George Corrie's natural death but not his brother Peter's hanging. It also comes across in Louisa Placide's obvious distress at having to make public her private affairs. These affairs dated back almost to her childhood and included a socially embarrassing and damaging sexual encounter years earlier, when she had been a twenty-four-year-old widow with four young children and facing overt hostility from her deceased husband's family. Yet her determination to maintain her respectability is palpable. In addressing previous testimony about her visits to her sister-in-law's house to see her daughter Somerville, Louisa asserted, "I never said I had to sneak to the house to see Somerville. It is not true. I go there openly, + enter the front door, + I meet the whole family in friendly intercourse." In a turbulent and socially fluid city, respectability was a valuable commodity. Louisa's pension, for example, largely depended on her success in asserting her respectability over claims to the contrary.²⁸

The research also offered an important and unexpected glimpse at the state of medicine in Baltimore at a decisive turn in its history. For decades, Bryson Gill, his wife and sons, his sister-in-law Margaret Mettee, and nephew James Corrie Jr. offered homeopathic cures, patent medicine, and dental surgery in their busy working-class neighborhood. Although their medical practice might seem crude when viewed through a lens fashioned by modern medicine and medical technology, it would have seemed unremarkable in this place, at this time. Paul Placide relied on belladonna plasters, chloride of potash gargles, and cough syrups prepared by his landlady to deal with brutal maladies. In 1864, Lavinia's daughter Alberta Georgetta ("Daisy") Gary died of scarlet fever. To treat her, the doctor used the "old method of closed curtains, hot drinks for the poor little body burnt with fever." Five years later, eminent Drs. Nathan R. Smith and Alan P. Smith—the former professor of surgery at the University of Maryland, the latter his son and a promising surgeon—failed to save the life of Lavinia's first son Jimmie. Their diagnosis was still rooted more in culture than science: "They said inflammation of the bowels caused by being over-heated playing hop scotch, and sitting on the marble steps to cool off." In 1881, when several of the Gary children, including Lillian, suffered severe illnesses diagnosed as scarlet fever and diphtheria, Albert Gary sought an explanation as to why his family had been so heavily afflicted. Lillian believed "it was traced to our winter coats, made in rooms with diphtheria nearby."²⁹

Moreover, I did not actively seek female agency and perspective, but that's exactly what I found. The Corrie, Morgan, and Placide women took an active role in developments. Every woman encountered in my research—except Lavinia and



Gary daughters, 1896. "Top row left: sister Ida, my picture, sister Minnie in her wedding dress cut low for an evening gown. Second row left: sister Adelaide, sister Madeleine, sister Emma, and sister Josie in her débüt dress." (Lillian Gary Memories, University of Virginia.)

Lillian—earned income for her household. The most revealing sources are Taylor's memoirs and Louisa Placide's pension application. The Ely sisters—Catherine Corrie, Teresa Gill, Margaret Mettee, and Mother Mary Jerome Ely—emerge as dynamic, hard-working women, the first three all working to earn money for their families and playing a large role in the creation and maintenance of a large extended family, the latter a significant figure in the development of the American Catholic Church. Sisters Catherine Corrie and Mary Ely were both equally responsible for giving Catherine's daughter Lavinia the education, polish, and respectability that allowed the tavern keeper's daughter to marry advantageously and mature into a prominent member of Baltimore society. Indeed, Lavinia Gary comes across in her daughter Lillian's memoirs not only as a loving, devoted wife but also as a full partner in her husband's successful career. Lillian herself left one of the most vivid portraits of nineteenth-century Baltimore. Describing her childhood home on Lombard Street, Lillian wrote, "I remember sitting on the parlor floor behind the long lace curtains, + looking over at the University [of Maryland] wondering if they really did catch colored people to cut up in the dissecting rooms. Our servants firmly believed this; they feared to go out at night, afraid the doctors would catch them." Peter Corrie, Paul Placide, and Albert Gary made it into the newspapers, but their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters were just as prominent in developments, and often the most compelling chroniclers.³⁰

Discovery of two stone markers in a quiet cemetery had tumbled me down a researcher's rabbit hole into a living, breathing nineteenth-century Baltimore, where residents' stories were not only strange and colorful but also remarkably intertwined. Among this menagerie of families were French Huguenots and Scottish and Irish emigrants, Know-Nothings and Catholic nuns, doctors and deserters. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they often engaged in sectarian and political conflict and bitter domestic disputes. They worked hard. In the neighborhoods huddling around the busy docks, the men made cigars, crafted barrels, erected buildings, bled the ill, and amputated mangled limbs. The women often sold liquor and other goods to earn additional money for their families. The Corries stocked their households with exotic leeches and patent medicines from faraway lands and treated pestilence and chronic illness like the diseases causing misery and death among the Placides and Garys. Bleedings and bloody bedpans, belladonna plasters and vile potions, and putrid sickrooms and dolorous death scenes with lamentations and grief, oozed across brittle and dusty pages. The pervasive violence of this world was evident in Paul Placide's encounters and the removal of a pistol ball from an elderly James Morgan's arm. This violence might erupt suddenly, like when Dr. James Corrie rushed from his house when he heard gunshots, and found his brother Peter bleeding and beset by a mob. Yet the most fantastic spirit animating the historical record left by this hurly-burly world is the insistent sense of pride and striving toward lives that rise above the severest challenges. Louisa Placide faced public disgrace for becoming pregnant out of wedlock but insisted on her dignity. Catherine Corrie took pride in helping her children build secure lives and lobbied heroically to prevent her son Peter dying on the gallows. As it turned out, the original mystery of the Catholic Know-Nothings yielded a broader understanding than I had sought. It also proved a historically based reminder that people struggle similarly in our own world. And—this is important—it was great fun.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Patriot*, April 6, 1821; *Baltimore Gazette*, September 28, 1830; *New York Herald*, November 15, 1858; *Baltimore Sun*, July 23, 1844; October 30, 1849 (James Corrie obituary). See also the Corrie [Corry] family in Baltimore city directories during this period. James Corrie's oldest eight children are listed in a Maryland Chancery Court decision dated May 31, 1830: Francis, James, Margaret (married Dunlap), Samuel, Theresa (married Baltimore butcher George H. Wilson), William, Daniel, and Alexander. Children born after this date were Peter, George, and Lavinia. See William T. Brantly, (annotated by), *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the High Court of Chancery of Maryland*, vol. 2, *Containing the Second Volume of Bland's Reports* (Baltimore, 1840; reprint ed., Baltimore: M. Curlander, 1885), 486; Bryson Gill Household, 1850 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.
2. *Baltimore Patriot*, January 30, 1824; January 12, 1826; *Easton (Md.) Republican Star*, February 22, 1825; *Baltimore Gazette*, March 4, 1833; May 9, 1835; November 3, 1835; *Baltimore Sun*,

- December 13, 1837; April 1, 1839; March 6, 1845; April 21, 1846; July 6 and 14, 1846; October 14, 1846; April 16, 1847; October 31, 1848; March 8, 1876 (Bryson Gill death notice); September 1, 1881; January 23, 1889 (Dr. James Corrie death notice); October 5, 1903 (Dr. Charles M. Gill obituary); Bryson Gill Household, 1850 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and 1880 U.S. Census, Tenth Ward, Baltimore, Md. The Gills and James Corrie may have learned surgery from Henry W. Tilyard, who advertised himself as Bryson Gill's partner in 1835, Gill doing cupping and leeching, and Tilyard dental surgery, and Dr. William Cowan, who briefly occupied the Gills' old office at Hanover and Lombard in 1846. Cowan advertised, that he "had eight years experience as a Dentist, as well as a regular Medical education." See *Baltimore Sun*, November 3, 1835; July 6 and 14, 1846. The author greatly appreciates assistance generously provided by Nicholas Dorsey Christhilf, who has researched the Gill family and Dr. Bryson Gill's career. Mr. Christhilf's manuscript, "Three Generations of Baltimore Dentists: Dr. Bryson J. Gill & Sons," contains important detail on the careers of Dr. Bryson J. Gill and his sons. Most helpful was information on James Corrie's and Bryson Gill's marriages and Gill's career in furniture making and dentistry, including the fact that the instrument cabinet built by Gill belongs to the National Museum of Dentistry in Baltimore. See also the Gill family in Baltimore city directories and Lillian Gary Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 134, The Taylor Family Portfolio, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. The Taylor Family Portfolio is online at <http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/rmds/portfolio/taylor/> (accessed April–May 2013). Taylor describes James Corrie as having an unnamed first wife, who was the mother of some of the older Corrie children. On Margaret J. Mettee, see Leonard C. Mettee household, 1850 U.S. Census, Fifteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 1.
3. *Baltimore Sun*, July 22, 1844; October 30, 1849 (James Corrie Sr. death notice); April 27, 1857 (George Corrie death notice); *New York Herald*, November 15, 1858.
 4. *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1885 (Mother Mary Jerome Ely obituary); *New York Herald*, April 29, 1885; Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 55–60, 173. Taylor describes Sister Anina at Mount St. Vincent as her mother's sister.
 5. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 41, 54, 171–72.
 6. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 15.
 7. *Baltimore Sun*, January 22, 1859; Tracy Matthew Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill: The Violent Career of Baltimore's Plug Uglies, 1854–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2005), 229, 238–46.
 8. *New York Herald*, November 15, 1858. Her letter is dated November 11.
 9. Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 260–61.
 10. *Baltimore Sun*, April 8 and 11, 1859; Daniel B. Corrie household, 1860 U.S. Census, Richmond, Va. See also Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, ed., *A Private War: Letters and Diaries of Madge Preston 1862–1867* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987).
 11. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 54, 66–67; *Baltimore Sun*, February 17, 1876 (Catherine Corrie death notice); November 26, 1900; November 1, 1920; December 5, 1926. Lillian's marriage and her parents' funerals years later highlight another aspect of the family's story, one with broader meaning in Baltimore history. Presbyterian ministers officiated at her wedding and at Albert's funeral in 1920 and Lavinia's in 1926. The Corrie and Gill families had attached themselves to several different Christian churches across the nineteenth century. Some members had moved toward Catholicism, others toward Protestant denominations. The Ely sisters had embraced Catholicism and carried their children into that faith. Peter Corrie died a Catholic, but his attachment had not been sufficiently strong to shape his day-to-day associations and pull him from the Plug Uglies' orbit. Lavinia, who had attended Catholic school under supervision of her aunt, Mother Mary Jerome Ely, left her church after marry-

ing a Presbyterian with New England roots. Denominational fluidity and competition were aspects of a culture generally characterized by fixity of faith. Sometimes conversions resulted from religious movements, but often from personal circumstances, especially marriages.

12. *Baltimore Sun*, January 23, 1893; Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 23–25, 31–32.

13. James Morgan, died December 7, 1894, Death Certificate #A72203, Baltimore City Death Certificates, Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis, Md.; *Baltimore Sun*, November 6, 1874 (death notice for Mary Morgan); December 8, 1894 (James Morgan obituary); James Morgan household, 1870 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and 1880 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; *Baltimore Sun*, July 22, 1893. The 1900 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md., shows an Elizabeth Morgan, a widow born about the same year as James Morgan's wife Eliza, boarding at 12 E. Madison Street. It also indicates that she had had no children, like Eliza. However, it is not clear if these are the same individual.

14. *Baltimore Sun*, July 6, 1855; July 19 and 21, 1856; July 24, 1857; September 10–11, 1857; December 7, 1857; August 13, 1858; September 25, 1858; August 3 and 27, 1859; September 15 and 29, 1859; October 13, 1859; February 10, 1860; October 8 and 24, 1860; December 28, 1860; July 15, 1861; *Baltimore Clipper*, August 3 and 27, 1859; May 30–31, 1860; *Baltimore Republican*, July 6, 1855; Deposition: William J. Carter, March 17, 1892, Special Claim #347,437, Certificate #278,806, Louisa E. Placide, widow of Paul D. Placide, First Lieutenant, Company I, Fourth Maryland Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Veterans Who Served in the Army and Navy Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C. [Hereinafter Placide Claim.]

15. Robert W. Barnes, *Biographical Data from Baltimore Newspapers, 1817–1819* (Clearfield Company; Reprint ed., Baltimore Genealogical Company, 2011), 90; *Baltimore Patriot*, April 7, 1829 (Paul Placide obituary); *Baltimore Gazette* February 28, 1832 (Mrs. Anna Placide, second wife of Paul, obituary); *Baltimore Sun*, October 18, 1848; December 15, 1855 (Ellen V. Placide obituary); August 6, 1861 (Henry F. Placide obituary); June 10, 1867 (W. Harrison Placide obituary); November 26, 1868 (Henry S. Placide death notice); October 13, 1870 (Henry B. Placide obituary); November 12, 1873 (Robert E. Placide death notice); January 12, 1885 (Susan E. S. Placide obituary); November 29, 1875 (Paul D. Placide obituary); June 20, 1896 (Jennings Placide obituary); December 31, 1910; December 20, 1929 (Susan E. Placide obituary) and December 22, 1929; *Cecil County (Md.) Whig*, July 4, 1891 (Alice (Placide) Wilmer obituary); Henry S. Placide household, 1850 U.S. Census, Fourth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and 1860 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; Susan E. Placide household, 1870 U.S. Census, Twelfth Ward, Baltimore, Md. and S.E.S. [Susan] Placide household, 1880 U.S. Census, Twelfth Ward, Baltimore, Md..

16. L. Allison Wilmer, J. H. Jarrett, and George W. F. Vernon, *History and Roster of Maryland Volunteers, War of 1861–5*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil & Co., 1898), 156, 168, 175. On Barrett and Carl, see Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill* and *Baltimore Sun*, August 10, 12, 1898 (Barrett obituary). Gregory Barrett Jr. became a career U.S. Army officer and died of yellow fever in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

17. Surgeon H. E. Goodman to Brig. Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, February 5, 1863; Assistant Surgeon Dewitt C. Peters to Maj. William S. Fish, February 27, 1863; Capt. Louis A. Carl to Brig. Gen. John R. Kenly, December 14, 1863; Col. Richard N. Bowerman to Lt. Col. Frederick T. Locke, November 19, 1864, in Lt. Paul D. Placide, Company I, Fourth Maryland Volunteer Regiment, Civil War Service Record, NARA; Deposition: Richard N. Bowerman, March 16, 1892, Placide Claim.

18. Depositions: William J. Carter, March 17, 1892; Capt. John H. Suter, April 1, 1892; William H. H. Snader, April 1, 1892; Richard N. Bowerman, March 16, 1892, Placide Claim.
19. *Baltimore Sun*, September 10, 13, 19, 1866; October 27, 1866; Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill*, 399–400.
20. Christian [Christopher] Hartgens [Hartjens] household, 1870 U.S. Census, Tenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; *Baltimore Sun*, August 13, 1863; July 30, 1875 (Christopher Hartjens death notice); Louisa E. Placide, died December 20, 1927, Death Certificate #13215, SE43 Baltimore County Death Certificates, Maryland State Archives; Depositions: Mary [Hartjens] Levering, [1890] and March 18, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, April 28, 1892 and December 14, 1892, Placide Claim.
21. Deposition: Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; Record Proof of Marriages, Births, and Deaths, November 24, 1886; Certificate of Baptism for Louisa Dorothea Placide, November 22, 1886, Placide Claim.
22. Depositions: Martha Diggs, March 18, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; Susie Placide, December 15, 1892, Placide Claim.
23. Deposition: Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; *Baltimore Sun*, February 24, 1870; October 22, 1870, Placide Claim.
24. Depositions: Martha Diggs, March 18, 1892; John T. Clark, March 23, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; William J. Carter, March 17, 1892; Mary Levering, [1890]; Isabel Herring, December 16, 1892, Placide Claim; Paul D. Placide, died November 26, 1875, Death Certificate #6682, Baltimore City Death Certificates, MSA; *Baltimore Sun*, November 29, 1875 (Paul Placide obituary).
25. Paul's brother Henry's wife Emma died in 1866; his brother Harrison in 1867; his father Henry Sr. in 1868; his brother Henry Jr. in 1870; his brother Robert in 1873; and Paul in 1875. *Baltimore Sun*, September 10, 1866; June 10, 1867; November 26, 1868; October 13, 1870; November 12, 1873; Depositions: Dr. George G. Brewer, March 15, 1892; Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892; William E. Herring, December 16, 1892, Placide Claim.
26. Depositions: Louisa E. Placide, April 28, 1892 and December 14, 1892; Mary A. Jeanneret, July 20, 1891 in Placide Claim; George H. Fulton household, 1880 U.S. Census, Twentieth Ward, Baltimore, Md. (Placides are incorrectly indexed as "Alacide").
27. Report of the Commissioner of Pensions, Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, September 30, 1895, Vol. 3, Doc. 5, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 10, 25; W. T. Pierson, *Precedents Applicable to Suits, Civil and Criminal, Growing Out of or Incident to the Administration of the Pension and Bounty-Land Laws* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 109; *Baltimore Sun*, February 11, 1891; September 11 and 24, 1891; October 21 and 24, 1891; December 8 and 16, 1891; September 20, 1892; April 13, 1894; January 23, 1895; February 21, 1895; August 19, 1895; June 12, 1896; October 13, 1896; *The American Lawyer* 4(11) (November 1896): 516. On Louisa's later years, see William Placide household, 1900 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; L. E. Placide household, 1910 U.S. Census, Fourth Ward, Baltimore, Md.; Louisa E. Placide household, 1920 U.S. Census, Seventeenth Ward, Baltimore, Md.. Louisa E. Placide died December 20, 1927, Death Certificate, #13215, SE43 Baltimore County Death Certificates, Maryland State Archives. Louisa survived her son William S. Placide, who also died of tuberculosis. See William S. Placide, died November 23, 1909, Death Certificate #C27692, Baltimore City Death Certificates, MSA.
28. Deposition: Louisa E. Placide, December 14, 1892 in Placide Claim.
29. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 204.
30. Taylor, *Memories*, vol. 1, p. 40.

Book Reviews

Building the James Brice House, 1767–1774. By Orlando Ridout IV. (Annapolis: Friends of the Maryland State Archives, 2013. 237 pages. Illustrations, notes, appendix, index to appendix. Cloth, \$65.00; paper, \$30.00.)

Lovers of architecture detective stories will find this book hard to put down. The author, an architectural historian, educator, and long-time public figure in Maryland, has made a convincing case for the design origins of every molding, bracket, and roof angle in Annapolis's James Brice House (completed in 1774). The five-part, brick Georgian house at 42 East Street was designed by the merchant-owner himself, without the assistance of an architect or master builder. A city house, it is one of the largest private dwellings built in colonial North America. It is now preserved and occupied by the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen and, as the union's headquarters, is known as the "International Masonry Center."

James Brice (1746–1801) was born into a third-generation Annapolis family of merchants and planters. He engaged in the family pursuits, and also served as an officer during the Revolutionary War. After the war, Brice held public office as mayor of Annapolis and as a member of the Governor's Council.

Ridout identifies three potential sources of influence on the Brice House's design: (1) the domestic architecture of eighteenth-century Annapolis and the western shore of the Chesapeake; (2) Isaac Ware's 1737 translation of Palladio's *The Four Books of Architecture* (1570); and (3) an array of British pattern books, including Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* (issued in parts, 1756–1768), documented in Brice's possession by a receipt. The author himself compiled a meticulous photographic record of the vernacular pitched-roof house in the British Isles, Ireland, and the Low Countries, a form all but absent from the Georgian style books but evident in the built world of the eighteenth century in both the Old World and the mid-Atlantic. (A pitched or gabled roof's two planes normally each meet an exterior wall at an angle of between 30 and 45 degrees from the horizontal. It sometimes incorporates dormers, although the central block of the Brice House does not. [Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 42–44.]

Ridout's enthusiasm for historic architecture has not tempted him to take an unjustifiably charitable view of the Brice House's visually uncomfortable proportions. He gives compliments where they are due but does not hesitate to point out James Brice's less fortunate design choices. Studying the images of the house's East Street front before turning to the text—see, e.g., cover, 10, 17 (detail)—the reader may anticipate the author's verdict: The house exhibits "three unconventional transgressions against the rules of Georgian proportion" (15). Namely, the center Palladian window is too small for the expansive front wall of the house, the fragile ornament

of the cornice is also out of scale, and the vertical space between the belt course and the second-story windows is too deep (the term *belt course* referring to the continuous row of bricks signaling the division between the first and second stories on the front facade).

Ridout places Brice's design choices, good and bad, in the context of the environment of the builder's world, where vernacular preferences in domestic architecture sometimes prevailed over the formal models illustrated in the English design books. Although a hipped roof, characterized by four sloping planes, might have pleased the educated eye better than the pitched roof on the James Brice House, that is not what prosperous Marylanders of the merchant and planter class necessarily preferred in his day. Lacking the sophistication of architectural design training, Brice chose to follow in the conservative footsteps of five fellow Annapolitans, each of whom built a house with a vernacular pitched roof in the period between 1720 and the date when construction began on the his house. Members of "polite society" all, these builders were not unqualified adopters of formal Georgian design. Where Brice *did* follow the fashion in formal design was in his occasionally too exuberant wood and plaster embellishments in the house's interior; craftsmen's names and building materials are recorded in his account book in facsimile in the appendix.

Ridout's text is dense with information about the Brice family, the domestic architecture of eighteenth-century Annapolis, and the social history of its inhabitants. James Brice's account book, discovered in 1970 by archivist Frank White, newly indexed by Jean Russo, and published for the first time in the book's appendix, represents, according to Ridout, "one of the most important collections of primary source material [on colonial house construction]" (viii). The original document was secured in a safe in an Annapolis Masonic temple for nearly 170 years before its accession by the Maryland State Archives. Its content is for the first time easily accessible to students of colonial architecture and the public. Space permitting, an index to the author's text would have allowed the reader to refer back to topics of interest as many a reader will want to do, once having read it straight through. The illustrations include many helpful visual examples of the buildings and design details described in the text. Author Orlando Ridout IV has made an important contribution to the history of architecture in colonial Annapolis.

ROYANNE CHIPPS BAILEY
Independent Scholar

What So Proudly We Hailed: Francis Scott Key, A Life. By Marc Leepson. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014. 227 pages. Illustrated, partial Key family genealogy, notes and bibliography. Cloth, \$26.00.)

Marc Leepson's new biography is a welcome addition to the recent body of works adding to our knowledge of the personalities behind the events and iconic symbols

that emerged from the War of 1812. In this first full treatment of Francis Scott Key's life since Edward Delaplaine's 1937 biography, Leepson reveals the complex personality behind the well-known image of the man standing at the ship's rail, anxiously watching the bombardment of Fort McHenry.

Best known today as the author of the stirring lyrics that became our national anthem, Key was a skilled lawyer, respected orator, deeply religious, an early advocate for universal education, a founder of the American Colonization Society, and a prominent figure in Washington and Maryland legal and political circles from 1805 through his death in 1843. His most famous legal cases involved defending Sam Houston against charges of treason and acting as negotiator/conciliator in the Nullification Crisis of 1832. Politically conservative, Key opposed slavery but was also against the abolitionist movement. He defended the rights of slave owners in court, but his pro-bono efforts on behalf of African Americans defending their freedom were also well known. He served for eight years as U.S. Attorney for Washington D.C. under the Jackson administration and served in Jackson's 'Kitchen Cabinet' of close advisors. Like many contemporaries, Key was well versed in the liberal arts and highly regarded for his writing and public speaking. A 'gentleman poet,' he composed primarily for personal pleasure, but with one notable exception his verse is amateurish and largely forgotten. In truth, the circumstances which led him to be in position to observe the bombardment of Fort McHenry and be inspired to write the lyric which became known as the "Star-Spangled Banner" are a minor episode in a life devoted to service to his country, his church, and his family.

What So Proudly We Hailed is an enjoyable read, providing fresh insight to Key's life and the culture in which he lived. One aspect of the narrative however is troubling. In his introduction, Leepson refers to Key's "cloudy" legacy in relation to slavery, a theme that resurfaces throughout the work. Depicting Key's conflicting views on slavery as a flaw of character, the author falls into a trend shared by many current writers of history—the tendency to evaluate a historical figure in the light of today's cultural sensibilities. The contrast between Key's views on slavery and his ownership of slaves, his commitment to the colonization effort and distrust of the abolitionist movement, or his defense of slave owners' property rights and representing African Americans suing for their freedom may indeed seem perplexing to modern sensibilities. But in the context of the times these dilemmas confronted Americans from all walks of life and at all levels of society. To depict those personal conflicts as 'flaws in character' is ungenerous. To chastise Key for his life-long friendship with Roger B. Taney over Taney's Dred Scott decision, which occurred fourteen years after Key's death, is mean-spirited. Key was a product of his time and his personal conflicts on the issues of slavery in no way diminish the value of his contributions to the legal, political and social culture of his nation.

Despite this criticism, *What So Proudly We Hailed* offers a fresh look at the man behind the "Star-Spangled Banner" and an understanding of his role beyond

the song that for most Americans, still stirs a sense of pride and patriotism with its opening phrases.

DAVID McDONALD
Maryland Historical Society

We Have the War Upon Us: The Onset of the Civil War, November 1860–April 1861. By William J. Cooper. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012. 347 pages. Illustrations, map, notes, index. Cloth, \$30.00.)

One of the latest in a long line of works by formidable historian William J. Cooper, *We Have the War Upon Us* takes a fresh look at a much scrutinized period of American history. Unlike many other books dedicated to the Civil War's beginnings, Cooper dissects the period between Lincoln's election and the firing on Fort Sumter by highlighting much more than just the political and ideological differences between northerners and southerners. He explores the divisions that were rampant among Democrats in the North and the South, as well as in the Republican party as a whole as the secession crisis developed, and examines political dynamics in an attempt to shed light on why those individuals in both sections who sought to diffuse tensions through compromise were not successful. Directly stating his book's message in the preface, Cooper writes "My book focuses on why the pro-compromise legions lost, or why the American tradition of sectional compromise failed" (xv).

In many ways this book might provide lessons for those participating in modern political discourse in that it points out the dangers of short-sighted partisanship. Cooper notes that there were opportunities to avert civil war and that there were many from the North and the South who vigorously but unsuccessfully worked toward that end. The polarization of different factions within the political parties coupled with the fact that few at the time could fathom the depth of the disaster that was about to befall the country created a volatile mixture destined to ignite. Cooper singles out Abraham Lincoln for a good deal of criticism, noting the newly elected president's stance against compromise on issues related to expanding slavery, as well as his general lack of understanding of the southern mindset. He maintains that Lincoln saw the secession movement as a political plot led by a minority of southern hotheads and not the result of any policy promoted by his Republican party. He "rationalized his House-Divided declaration" that the South perceived as a fundamental threat and seemed to hold the belief that the non-slaveholding majority of southern whites were more committed to the Union than to the peculiar institution (73). This contrasted with the views of other Republicans such as Lincoln's secretary of state William Seward, who sensed the gravity of the secession crisis and promoted compromise with the southerners in an effort to avoid a wider and more violent conflict. While the political relief never materialized, Cooper points out that more moderate Republicans in the North "felt compelled to aid southern union-

ists who were begging for something from the Republicans to help them blunt the secessionist advance" (177). As the leader of his party following the 1860 election, Lincoln's views helped shape Republican policy, empowering those who were not in any mood to strike a deal with the South, and who were determined to obstruct any efforts along those lines. Meanwhile, there was no lack of political intrigue among southern statesmen as the voices of those promoting immediate secession after Lincoln's election began to drown out those of southern unionists who hoped that cooler heads would prevail. The warnings of political stalwarts like Sam Houston of Texas and future Confederate vice-president Alexander Stephens of Georgia fell on deaf ears as events began spinning out of control. Radical "fire-eaters" in the South were just as unwilling to compromise as Lincoln and like-minded Republicans in the North, creating a situation that made a peaceful settlement of the secession crisis almost impossible. In the end, the Confederate firing on Fort Sumter put to rest any hopes for compromise. It provoked a groundswell of patriotic spirit in the North that further empowered hard-line Republicans and it caused support for the Union to crumble in the upper South. Once Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the other southern states in the Confederacy after the incident, the stage was set for the violent events to come.

In this book Cooper maintains the high scholarly standard that he has set through his many other works related to the nineteenth-century South and the Civil War. The book is well-researched, well-written, and does a good job bringing clarity to a confused but pivotal period in American history. Anyone interested in the origins of the Civil War, American political history, or American political discourse in general will probably enjoy this book and find it very interesting.

BEN WYNNE

University of North Georgia

Troubled Ground: A Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South. By Claude A. Clegg III. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. 248 pages. Bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$80.00.)

This work is a highly detailed and nuanced account of two lynchings in the author's hometown of Salisbury, North Carolina, at the turn of the twentieth century. Clegg, a professor of history at Indiana University, embarked on the project after stumbling upon a photograph that gruesomely captured one of the two lynchings under review. One occurred in 1902 with two victims, the other in 1906 with three. (Significantly, the latter resulted in the first conviction of an accused lyncher in North Carolina.) Although Clegg was born and raised in Salisbury, he knew nothing of these events in his hometown before discovering the photograph as an adult.

One might interpret this as simply an effort to bring yet another ugly chapter in the story of southern race relations to light, but this book offers much more than

that. *Troubled Ground* is a well-crafted community study that impressively situates two lynchings within the greater postbellum southern experience. "In excavating the Salisbury lynchings in particular, this work renders the local, human stakes involved in the everyday vagaries of race relations in the New South, while juxtaposing these realities against the larger context of southern history and the African American experience in the age of Jim Crow" (xv). Ultimately, Clegg's work is about failure to live up to the promise of the New South. It is about resistance to modernity, the politics of remembering—and just as often forgetting—the racial tensions of this region's past, and about the author's personal coming to terms with race relations in contemporary America.

Three themes provide structure. First, Clegg underscores the extent to which official complicity was ubiquitous "in perpetuating a culture of mob violence by either fomenting it for political gain or failing to quell it in the name of public safety" (xvi). He explores the often intersecting roles played by the press, coroners, sheriffs, lawyers, governors, congressmen, and even the president of the United States in condoning and even perpetuating lynching. Particularly noteworthy is a discussion of the ways in which white newspapers shaped public perceptions of African Americans as prone to crime and solidified white southerners' acceptance of extra-legal violence. Development of this first theme is perhaps the book's strongest and most original contribution.

Second, Clegg emphasizes the degree to which lynchings solidified racial hierarchies and boundaries in the Jim Crow South. And third, *Troubled Ground* considers the disconnects between the idealized vision of the postbellum South as articulated by the region's white elite, and the realities of mob violence, disenfranchisement, black codes, debt peonage and chain gangs in the lives of the state's African Americans. For example, North Carolina governors Charles Aycock and Robert Glenn called publicly for racial moderation, but Clegg concludes that elected officials sought to control extra-legal violence toward African Americans, not out of sympathy, but because such figures believed that lynching "reflected native weakness of state power and authority in turn-of-the-century North Carolina" (47). Although scholars such as W. Fitzhugh Brundage and Philip Dray have thoroughly examined those ideas, this microhistory justly applies them to the Salisbury lynchings while adding detail and context in the process.

Troubled Ground more than succeeds as a close look at extra-legal violence. In praise, Clegg places these two Salisbury lynchings in broader historical context, drawing connections to the better-known Wilmington Race Riot of 1898, growing anti-lynching campaigns at the turn of the century, and emerging racial ideology as expressed by Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. The epilogue, "Old South, New South," a consideration of Salisbury at the time of the 2008 presidential election, adds to the personal element of Clegg's story while providing the reader with a better sense of the community's evolution after the lynchings. Finally, Clegg admirably

uncovers the social, political, and economic identities of virtually all actors tied up with these two lynchings, including the lynchers, victims and their respective families, the press, elected officials, law enforcement, and the legal community.

Although such painstaking detail is welcome in some places, in others, Clegg sometimes presents too much concerning the perpetrators and victims, and particularly the ensuing legal battles, occasionally making *Troubled Ground* a slow and uninspiring read. Expansion upon the greater significance of the Salisbury lynchings in connection with North Carolina and southern history would have strengthened this study and perhaps attracted a wider readership. Ultimately, *Troubled Ground* will likely appeal to a narrower audience, specifically one with strong interest in lynching and extralegal violence, turn-of-the-century race relations and/or legal history.

KATHERINE E. ROHRER
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A New Deal for All? Race and Class Struggles in Depression-Era Baltimore. By Andor Skotnes. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013. 376 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Paper, \$26.95.)

Borders of Equality: The NAACP and the Baltimore Civil Rights Struggle, 1914-1970. By Lee Sartain. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013. 235 pages. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00.)

New monographs appearing this year from Lee Sartain and Andor Skotnes are welcome and important additions to what is, happily, the growing bookshelf on civil rights struggles in Baltimore in the middle of the twentieth century. Such recent works as Howell Baum's *Brown in Baltimore* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010) and the anthology *Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth in an American City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011) depict the fraught path to at least de jure racial equality in a border city with a bit of a regional identity crisis. Skotnes and Sartain both draw attention to the peculiarities of race relations in Baltimore, the major metropolis of a former slave state that at the same time had a northern-style concentration of heavy industry and a sizable industrial working-class population. "The region," Skotnes explains, "had a dual nature, an *in-betweenness*" (11). The convergence of Jim Crowism with a longstanding activist black community and the tantalizing possibilities of labor unionism make it a fascinating case study for students of the twentieth-century civil rights struggle. And while Skotnes and Sartain tell stories that are distinctly of Baltimore, they make major contributions to the broader fields of urban, labor, and African American history.

Lee Sartain, author and editor of two previous books about the NAACP, focuses on the Baltimore branch in *Borders of Equality*, contending that together with the Urban League, the Baltimore NAACP dominated civil rights activism in the city from 1914 through the 1960s. By the end of World War II, the branch had a membership

of nearly 18,000, one of the most robust in the nation. Sartain attributes much of the branch's eventual prominence, both locally and nationally, to the leadership of Lillie Carroll Jackson, who served as president from 1935 to 1970. Prior to her presidency and especially in its first two decades of existence, the Baltimore NAACP struggled to find consistent leadership. Sartain argues that the branch's officers were dominated by "black middle-class elites" (5); its reputation as such led to competition for the support of working-class African Americans by the Communist Party (CP) during the Depression and criticism from the International Labor Defense, the CP's legal arm. This NAACP-versus-CP match-up will be very familiar to those who have read about the similar conflict in Depression-era Alabama in Robin D. G. Kelley's *Hammer and Hoe* (1990). Despite pressure from more radical voices on the left, Jackson steered the Baltimore NAACP to more liberal strategies that "wanted to fully integrate with American economic life rather than to change the system itself" (36). Under Jackson's leadership, the Baltimore NAACP focused on voting rights, housing desegregation, and most notably, school desegregation. This approach was consistent with the strategies of the national office.

Sartain rightly underscores the significance of the fact that such a large and prominent branch was led by a woman for more than three decades, a fact all too often overlooked in references to the Baltimore NAACP that focus on luminaries like Charles Hamilton Houston, Clarence Mitchell, and Thurgood Marshall. Joining Lillie Jackson among the branch's key female leaders was her daughter Juanita, whose work with Baltimore's City-Wide Young People's Forum led to a position as a national youth organizer for the NAACP. "[I] was surprised at how rapidly [the book] became a narrative about Lillie Jackson and her family and their use of the branch and its interaction with other organizations and officials," Sartain observes in the conclusion (172).

Sartain offers some of the book's most interesting contributions when examining these inter-organizational relationships. The depiction of the branch's preference for liberal strategies over more radical economic programs in the 1930s reflects the consensus within the broader NAACP historiography. Sartain also fits the Baltimore branch within the usual narrative of NAACP conflict and competition with younger and more radical civil rights organizations in the 1960s. This conflict is reflected in large part in the apparent personality conflict between Lillie Jackson and Ella Baker, who bristled at Jackson's heavy-handed leadership and who would go on to co-found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on more democratic, non-hierarchical principles. At the same time, Sartain finds the Baltimore NAACP serving as a valued consultant of sorts for the local efforts of national groups like CORE and SNCC conducting their first forays into Baltimore. Collaboration occurred simultaneously with competition, particularly during sit-ins and pickets by college students to integrate local businesses in the early 1960s.

Closing the narrative in 1970, when Enolia McMillan succeeded Lillie Jackson

as branch president, Sartain gives the Baltimore NAACP its due for decades of struggle to open the city's public schools to black children, agitate against lynchings on Maryland's eastern shore, fight restrictive covenants in housing, and support so many of the other bread-and-butter NAACP priorities of the day. Yet the study concludes that the NAACP's focus on legal equality and desegregation nonetheless meant that "poor and disempowered blacks before *Brown* generally remained poor and disempowered after the civil rights movement" (168).

That this is the coda to so many histories of the civil rights movement underscores the significance of Andor Skotnes's work in *A New Deal for All?* This sprawling, complicated monograph examines linkages between the civil rights movement and the labor movement in Baltimore during the Depression. "This . . . is a study of social movements *in the plural*," Skotnes explains, that are "deeply, complexly, and subtly interconnected" (3). *A New Deal for All?* takes the "long civil rights movement" approach, a phrase coined by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall to connect the movement of the 1960s to activism in the Depression and World War II. The understanding that civil rights activism did not, in fact, appear for the first time in 1960 at the Greensboro sit-ins is critical to analyzing movement leaders and strategies, particularly the role of black women in sustaining the movement in the long term. But Skotnes's study offers its most exciting contributions in its discovery of the connections between industrial unionism and civil rights organizing at this time. In doing so, Skotnes explodes the usual assumptions, made by Sartain and many others, that the NAACP was dominated by middle-class African-Americans. Instead, Skotnes describes the civil rights movement in Baltimore as indicative of a "*social bloc* spanning the class hierarchy . . . [that] attempted with some success to speak for the overwhelmingly working-class African American community as a whole" (40). With this formulation, Skotnes challenges readers to rethink the usual assumptions about the elitism of the NAACP and the scholarly compartmentalization of labor and civil rights histories.

This "cross-class alliance within black Baltimore" gained momentum during the Depression. In response to the economic challenges of the Depression, Communist Party organizing intensified in Baltimore. At the same time, civil rights organizing was given new life by the creation of the City-Wide Young People's Forum, led by Juanita Jackson and her future husband, Clarence Mitchell. At times, the labor and civil rights movements grew parallel to each other; at other times, organizations and individual activists intersected, as in the case of mass protests around the lynching of George Armwood in 1933 and the Baltimore NAACP's "Buy Where You Can Work" campaign in favor of what Skotnes notes were "thoroughly working-class, service-sector positions" (157). There were also early examples of interracial organizing among the unemployed and among maritime workers.

Interracial unionism was ascendant in the second half of the 1930s with the establishment of the consciously integrationist Congress of Industrial Organizations

(CIO) and particularly successful union drives in Baltimore's garment, maritime, and steel industries. With CIO affiliates dominating workplace organizing, civil rights groups like the Baltimore NAACP focused on issues in the "neighborhood and public spheres" like school and housing desegregation. The branch, however, sometimes supported issues with labor implications, such as the campaign for parity in black and white teachers' salaries and the integration of Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company. "The movements led by the CIO and the NAACP did not consummate a functioning, ongoing alliance during the late 1930s," Skotnes writes. "Nonetheless, by evolving in the same social space and by expressing their ideologies and demands in the same cultural atmosphere, they influenced each other quite profoundly" (313). Skotnes adds that it is important to acknowledge this process of mutual influence to give credit to the longstanding efforts of black civil rights activists in Baltimore, not simply attribute interracial unionism solely to the beliefs of the more radical edge of the labor movement.

Baltimore's border status makes it an especially important place to study race relations; Charles Hamilton Houston of the NAACP even described it as a "legal laboratory" during the organization's higher education desegregation efforts of the 1950s. Lee Sartain confirms many of the conclusions of existing civil rights historiography even within Baltimore's peculiar circumstances. Andor Skotnes encourages readers to question some of those conclusions, particularly the supposed middle-class bias of the NAACP and the all-too-frequent siloing of the freedom and labor movements. One hopes that the fascinating insights drawn from simultaneous study of both movements in Depression-era Baltimore will lead to similar studies in other cities – and perhaps to some rethinking of how we understand both African-American and labor history.

FRANCESCA GAMBER
Baltimore

The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects. By Richard Kurin. (New York: Penguin Press, 2013. 781 pages. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. Cloth, \$50.00.)

Richard Kurin's purpose is to provide an inclusive history of the American experience through careful study of 101 items in the museums of the Smithsonian Institution. The Under Secretary for History, Art and Culture, Kurin is the right person for this task, and he has chosen his subject, and the title of this book, with care. The topic is American history rather than U.S. history because many of the artifacts predate the formation of the United States. The topic is American history rather than history of the Americas because Kurin concentrates on the region that would become the United States and not on Canada, Central and South America, or the Caribbean. Within *The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects*, each item occupies a place in our collective memory, though no single artifact will be familiar to all Americans.

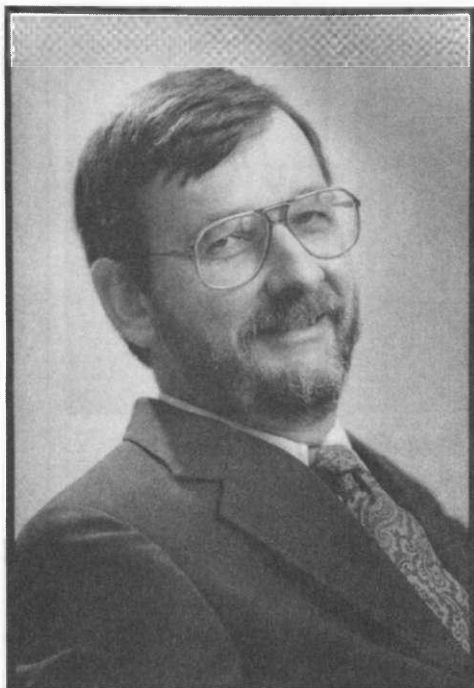
The items from pre-Columbian America may be absent from the memory of most Americans, who have given little thought to the distant past, the word "distant" being relative because human habitation and the development of culture were more recent achievements in the Americas than in, say, dynastic China. The text ranges from the era before the arrival of humans in the Americas, a date that continues to stir debate, to the most modern telescope at the Smithsonian Institution. One might note that John Quincy Adams, one of the Smithsonian Institution's architects, envisioned it as a promoter of science in general and of astronomy in particular.

Kurin includes powerful and important artifacts, among them the shackles that bound slaves, Cesar Chavez's union jacket, a panel from the AIDS memorial quilt, and the ubiquitous personal computer. One might question the inclusion of McDonald's iconic arches as a descent into popular culture, but for many Americans McDonald's will be much more familiar than the Clovis arrowheads of arguably America's first inhabitants. The inclusion of an RCA television is highly relevant to Americans whereas an Oscar award to Katherine Hepburn is probably less significant. Technology is an important focus of *The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects*. In this regard the author was probably wise to include Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, though some historians aver that an Italian-American and not Bell actually invented the device. Another central technology was the automobile, doubtless leading Kurin to include a Model T, possibly the most important motor vehicle in American history. By contrast science, often thought to be the engine that drives technological change, receives less treatment.

The 101 artifacts underpin seventeen chronological and topical categories: Before Columbus, New World, Let Freedom Ring, Young Nation, Sea to Shining Sea, a House Divided, Manifest Destiny, the Industrial Revolution, Modern Nation, the Great Depression, the Greatest Generation, the Cold War, New Frontiers, Civil Rights, Pop Culture, the Digital Age, and a New Millennium. These subheadings organize the book.

This large volume's appeal lies in its accessibility to the general reader. Kurin did not write it for a cadre of specialists in a particular subfield of American history. It contains a few brief references on the history of Maryland, in particular on Baltimore native and African American recipient of the Medal of Honor, Christian Fleetwood. Neither is this a history of the Smithsonian Institution. Rather the author succeeded in writing to educate and entertain, a considerable achievement. Kurin manages to infuse everyday objects with the capacity to remind Americans about their shared past, and *The Smithsonian's History of America in 101 Objects* should be essential reading for students of American history and generalists alike.

CHRISTOPHER CUMO
Independent Scholar



Joseph L. Arnold Prize

for Outstanding Writing on
Baltimore's History in
2014

Submission Deadline:
February 2, 2015

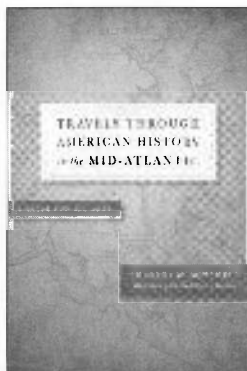
Thanks to the generosity of the Byrnes Family In Memory of Joseph R. and Anne S. Byrnes the Baltimore City Historical Society presents an annual Joseph L. Arnold Prize for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore's History, in the amount of \$500.

Joseph L. Arnold, Professor of History at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, died in 2004, at the age of sixty-six. He was a vital and enormously important member of the UMBC faculty for some three and a half decades as well as a leading historian of urban and planning history. He also played an active and often leading role with a variety of private and public historical institutions in the Baltimore area and at his death was hailed as the "dean of Baltimore historians."

Entries should be unpublished manuscripts between 15 and 45 double-spaced pages in length (including footnotes/endnotes). Entries should be submitted via email as attachments in MS Word or PC convertible format. If illustrations are to be included they should be submitted along with the text in either J-peg or TIF format.

There will be a "blind judging" of entries by a panel of historians. Criteria for selection are: significance, originality, quality of research and clarity of presentation. The winner will be announced in Spring 15. The BCHS reserves the right to not award the prize. The winning entry will be posted to the BCHS webpage and considered for publication in the Maryland Historical Magazine.

Further inquiries may be addressed to: baltimorehistory@law.umaryland.edu, or call Garrett Power @ 410-706-7661.



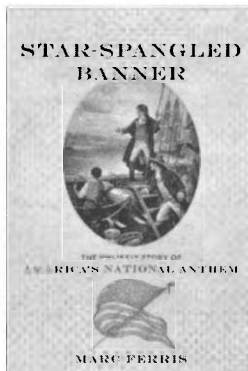
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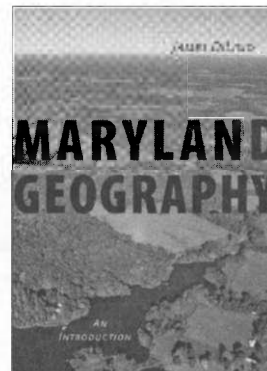
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